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ANTONIO DE ULLOA

I

As a colonial and naval official, Antonio de Ulloa failed conspicuously in some of his most important undertakings and, though he was the author of several books, Fitmaurice-Kelly's *New History of Spanish Literature* does not even mention his name. He is, nevertheless, a significant figure in the history of his age, which was the age of the enlightenment in Europe as a whole and of the Bourbon renaissance in Spain. Two of his books about Spanish America were widely read in western Europe during his lifetime and both of them, together with another work published posthumously, are still highly esteemed by historians; and an inquiry into the reasons for the repeated failures of this exceptionally intelligent and upright servant of the crown possesses interest for all students of the history of the Spanish empire. That no one has ever written a good biography of Ulloa¹ is probably explained

¹Sempere's sketch (cited below, note 30) is most useful for Ulloa's scientific and literary activities. The article on Antonio de Ulloa in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* is not only very brief but also incomplete and in some respects inaccurate; and the one in Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Biblioteca Marítima Española* (2 vols., Madrid, 1851), I, 189-201, while more satisfactory than the preceding in several respects, gives almost no information about Ulloa's administrations in Huancavélica and Louisiana. Neither article is based on an extensive use of the abundant manuscript sources, and neither even so much as mentions the bitter controversies (described in the present article) in which Ulloa became engaged while at Quito in 1737 and at Huancavélica in 1758-1764. The "vida de Ulloa" by Travieso mentioned in the *Enciclopedia* article is not, as one would naturally suppose, a life of Antonio de Ulloa—Travieso never wrote any such book or article—but Travieso's sketch of Antonio's son, Francisco Javier de

by his versatility, the wide geographical range of his activities, and the dispersion of the sources relating to his career. The present article makes no pretense to being definitive, but it is based upon a study of important manuscript sources² and it gives, I believe, a better rounded and more accurate account of Ulloa's life than any that has been published heretofore.

Antonio de Ulloa was born at Seville, Spain, on January 12, 1716.³ About this time, there occurred two events which were to have considerable influence upon his career. Just before his birth the war of the Spanish Succession came to an end and a branch of the house of Bourbon was firmly established on the throne of Spain. The coming of the Bourbons opened up a long period of reform in the administration of Spain and its colonies and brought Spain back into the main current of European thought. Just after Ulloa's birth the monopoly of trade with Spanish America was transferred from Seville to Cadiz.⁴ The loss of the monopoly that had

Ulloa, which was published in the *Crónica Naval de España*, V., no. 6 (November, 1857), pp. 695 ff. There is a sketch of Antonio de Ulloa by Francisco de Hoyos entitled *Biografía del Teniente General de la Real Armada Don Antonio de Ulloa* (19 pp., Madrid, 1844), a copy of which is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The writer of the *Enciclopedia* article apparently got a good deal of his information from this Hoyos pamphlet. For information about the latter I am indebted to Mr. Lewis Hanke of Harvard University, who found it while he was very kindly aiding me in my search for the supposed life of Antonio de Ulloa by Travieso.

² The manuscript sources used in the preparation of this article are preserved in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the Archivo General de Simancas. Other materials, preserved in the Museo Naval, Madrid, which contains the archives formerly housed in the Depósito Hidrográfico, were not consulted. The extent to which the manuscript sources relating to Ulloa have been neglected by previous writers is perhaps best illustrated by the article by Ramón de Manjarrés, "Don Jorge Juan y Don Antonio de Ulloa. La Medición del Arco Terrestre. La Historia del Platino," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, September-December, 1912, pp. 290-333, and January-February, 1913, pp. 58-91. The author himself prefaces his account with the statement that it is based "almost exclusively" on Juan and Ulloa's *Relación histórica* published in 1748—a book that is easily available either in Spanish or in various translations; the manuscript sources were hardly touched.

³ Navarrete, II. 189.

⁴ The royal order transferring the *Casa de Contratación* from Seville to Cadiz was issued in 1717 and executed in 1718. A recent work dealing with this ques-

made Seville for nearly two centuries the commercial metropolis of the Indies did not bring about an immediate abatement of interest on the part of the Sevillanos in a region that had long been their peculiar province; but now that they were no longer the chief beneficiaries of Spain's venerable colonial system, they could regard it with more detachment and in a more critical spirit than formerly.

It is, therefore, not surprising either that many of Ulloa's activities, both literary and administrative, had to do with Spanish America, or that, both as official and as writer, he called attention to serious faults in the colonial system. The special character of the interests that he developed was also an obvious result of influences to which he was exposed early in life. His father was Bernardo de Ulloa, who gained some repute as an economist; his tutor, Fray Vázquez Tinoco, instructor in mathematics in the *colegio* of Santo Tomás at Seville.⁵ To the former he doubtless owed his interest in the social sciences; to the latter, that in the exact sciences.

In 1729, he was sent to Cadiz to seek a place in the *Guardias Marinas*, a select corps recruited from the sons of the Spanish nobility and devoted to the study of mathematics, astronomy, and navigation.⁶ While waiting for a vacancy to occur, he sought to gain practical experience in navigation by taking service at his own expense in a fleet of galleons commanded by Manuel López de Pintado. The cruise lasted two years (1730-1732) and took him to America for the first time—to Cartagena de Indias, Portobelo, Havana, and Santo Domingo.⁷

Admitted to the *Guardias Marinas* on November 28, 1733,

tion is Albert Girard's *La Rivalité commerciale et maritime entre Séville et Cadix jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1932).

⁵ Navarrete, II. 189. Bernardo de Ulloa was the author of two books dealing with Spanish manufactures and commerce (Madrid, 1740 and 1741). He also held important posts in the municipal government of Seville.

⁶ For information about the *Guardias Marinas*, see Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, VI. (Madrid, 1900), 212.

⁷ Navarrete, II. 190.

he was almost immediately sent with a fleet to reinforce Naples; and he returned to Spain at the end of 1734 just in time to take part in a scientific expedition that was to give him occupation of one sort or another for the next fifteen years and enable him to make an enduring name for himself. Scientists were already agreed that the earth was not a perfect sphere, but there was no agreement as to whether the greater diameter passed through the poles or through the equator. The problem was one in which, as Ulloa subsequently expressed it, "not only geography and cosmography are interested, but also navigation, astronomy, and other arts and sciences of public utility".⁸ To settle the question the French Academy of Sciences decided to send one group of scientists to measure an arc of the meridian at the equator and another to make a similar measurement as near the north pole as possible. The only place on the equator where such an operation was then practicable was the Spanish province of Quito in the viceroyalty of Peru. Through the French foreign office, the king of Spain was persuaded to give his consent and promise his coöperation, but he did so on condition that one or two Spanish mathematicians should take part in the enterprise.⁹ This was readily agreed to.

The court finally decided to send not one Spanish representative but two, and the persons chosen for this difficult

⁸ Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (second ed., Dublin, 1765), I. 21.

⁹ Consulted by the king about the French request, the Consejo de Indias submitted two favorable reports (May 6 and July 12, 1734) advising that one or two Spanish representatives accompany the expedition (Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 590, Patiño to Francisco de Vara y Valdés, El Pardo, January 4, 1735). On August 12, 1734, a royal order was sent to the viceroy of Peru notifying him that the king had decided to grant the desired permission to the French scientists (*ibid.*, Indiferente General, legajo 956, entry in "Índice General de los Rs. despachos que se remiten al distrito de las Audiencias del Peru y Na. Espa. de la Negociación de Indiferente"). The order notifying the French government to the same effect was dated August 14 (*ibid.*, Audiencia de Lima, legajo 590, cédula dated San Ildefonso, August 20, 1734). Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used: AGI for Archivo General de Indias; and leg. for legajo.

undertaking were the nineteen-year-old Ulloa and his friend Jorge Juan,¹⁰ who was his senior by only three years. Though both of them were members of the *Guardias Marinas* and therefore specially prepared for the kind of work they would have to do, their extreme youth makes one suspect that their appointment was obtained through personal influence. The suspicion is strengthened by the knowledge that their appointment was not made in the normal manner—that is, on the recommendation of the Consejo de Indias—but on the recommendation of the king's chief minister, José Patiño.¹¹

The king's consent to the French expedition was formally signified in August, 1734,¹² and by the beginning of January, Juan and Ulloa had been chosen to accompany it;¹³ but, proceeding with its accustomed leisureliness, the court did not complete the drawing-up of their instructions until April 22, 1735. These instructions,¹⁴ consisting of ten articles, directed them to join the Frenchmen in Cartagena de Indias, take part in all their operations, record the results carefully, make plans of all the cities, harbors, and fortifications on their way, gather information about the soil, plants, industry, and people of the colonies, including the uncivilized Indian tribes, and make observations that would be useful for navigators. They were also instructed to use the scientific instruments belong-

¹⁰ There is a very good life of Juan by F. Cervera y Jiménez Alfaro (*Jorge Juan*, Madrid, 1927: vol. V, Series F of the *Colección Hispania*, edited by Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta).

¹¹ AGI, Audiencia de Quito, leg. 104, consulta del Consejo de Indias, March 24, 1738. Patiño had long taken a special interest in the *Guardias Marinas* (Fernández Duro, VI. 212); and it is possible that he was personally acquainted with Antonio's father, for he was at one time president of the Casa de Contratación and also member of a commission appointed to inquire into the dispute between Seville and Cadiz (Girard, pp. 81, 83, 84).

¹² See above, note 9.

¹³ AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 590, cédula dated El Pardo, January 4, 1735, signed "Yo El Rey," and countersigned "Dn Joseph Patiño"; *ibid.*, Patiño to Francisco de Varas y Valdés, El Pardo, January 4, 1735.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, instructions to Juan and Ulloa, signed by Patiño, dated Aranjuez, April 22, 1735. In the letter cited in the preceding note, Patiño directed Varas y Valdés to draw up these instructions.

ing to the French members of the expedition until their own could be made and sent to them. Both were given the rank of lieutenant in the navy before their departure,¹⁵ and they were promised that, upon their return to Spain, the king would reward them according to their merits.

At the very outset they had a stroke of great good fortune. A new viceroy, the Marqués de Villagarcía, was about to go out to Peru, and room was found for the two young mathematicians on board the warships, the *Conqueror* and the *Conflagration*, which were to take the viceroy and his suite to Portobelo.¹⁶ As it happened, he was a man of good sense and education, and Juan, who traveled in his ship, seems to have made an excellent impression on him. This friendship was to prove invaluable to both Juan and his companion while they were at Quito; and it turned out that the protection of the viceroy was worth a good deal more to them than was that of their friends at the remote Spanish court.

In Cartagena de Indias, they were joined by the much larger French party, which was headed by the talented scientists Godin, Bouguer, and La Condamine. Proceeding by way of Panama and Guayaquil, they reached Quito in 1736. So slowly did their work progress that Juan and Ulloa's part of it was not completed until 1744. There were many reasons for the long delay. Chief among these were the difficulties inseparable from the character of the country in which they had to work; the controversies with the local officials in which both the French and the Spanish members of the expedition became involved; and the war between Spain and England that broke out in 1739 and lasted until long after Juan and Ulloa had sailed for Spain.

No effort will be made here to describe the technical operations that quite properly occupied most of their time, or even

¹⁵ Their commissions were enclosed in the letter cited above, note 13, with instructions that they should be delivered to Juan and Ulloa at the moment of their embarkation for America.

¹⁶ This was done in accordance with the order contained in Patiño's letter cited above, note 13.

to sketch in outline the story of the expedition. Both subjects are discussed in great detail in works published by members of the expedition upon their return to Europe.¹⁷ It is enough to say that the desired information was obtained and that Juan and Ulloa acquitted themselves most creditably, their zeal and ability soon winning the respect of the French members,¹⁸ who were at first inclined to regard the raw young Spaniards with contempt.

One incident that occurred soon after their arrival at Quito is worth relating in some detail, for it not only illuminates one side of Ulloa's character but also brings out in high relief some important aspects of the workings of the Spanish colonial system. That incident is the violent dispute that they had in 1737 with the president of the audiencia of Quito, Joseph de Araujo y Río.¹⁹ Though the cause of the dispute

¹⁷ The best French account of the expedition is Charles de la Condamine's *Journal du voyage fait par l'ordre du Roi à l'Equateur* (Paris, 1751). Another, written by Pierre Bouguer, is given in abridged form in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, XIV. 270-312. The account written by Juan and Ulloa is discussed below in the text.

¹⁸ La Condamine, p. 5, makes a complimentary reference to Juan and Ulloa's "connoissances et . . . mérite personnel". On February 17, 1737, during Juan and Ulloa's controversy with President Araujo y Río, Bouguer wrote and signed a testimonial letter in which he said: "[Juan et Ulloa] ont non seulement assisté à tout ce que nous avons fait depuis que nous sommes entrés sur les terres de sa Majesté Catholique, mais ont même bien voulu partager avec nous toute la peine et tout le travail qui ne peuvent pas manquer d'être attachés à ces sortes d'opérations. Ils y ont donnés tout leur temps, ils nous ont aidés de leurs lumières, et ils ont apportés toute la vivacité possible pour faire réussir nôtre entreprise. Je dois certifier outre cela que lorsque j'ay mesuré avec Mr. de la Condamine dans la pleine de Yaruqui, la base qui doit servir de fondement à nos opérations Trigonometriques, Mr. de Ulloa a non seulement agi avec ce zèle que je lui ai vu dans toutes les autres rencontres; mais que j'ay continuellement éprouvé, combien la présence d'un officier de la part de Sa Majesté Catholique étoit nécessaire pour l'expédition de l'ouvrage, et pour applanir les diverses difficultés qui se présentent" (AGI, Audiencia de Quito, leg. 133).

¹⁹ The present summary account of the controversy is based on the voluminous "Expediente sobre las Quexas que dio el Pressta de Quito D Joseph Araujo y Río, de averle perdido el respecto d Anto de Ulloa, y d Jorge Juan . . ." AGI, Audiencia de Quito, leg. 133. The *Voyage to South America* makes a very brief and non-committal reference to the affair (second edition, I. 183).

seems rather absurd to the modern mind, its consequences were almost fatal to our two young lieutenants, for it first imperiled their lives and then very nearly blighted their careers. It was the proud, high-spirited Ulloa who started the fight, and he started it because in addressing him President Araujo used the common form for you, *usted*, instead of the more honorific form, *usía*. Possessing a full sense of his importance as the son of a distinguished father, a member of the aristocratic *Guardias Marinas*, and an agent of the king in an expedition of international significance, Ulloa found such treatment intolerable. The character of his antagonist made the affront all the more galling, for it was notorious that Araujo y Río, who had only recently arrived in Quito, had brought with him a mule-train loaded with contraband goods which he was selling in flagrant violation of the laws he was sworn to enforce.²⁰

To suffer an indignity at the hands of such a man was more than Ulloa could bear. After trying vainly to get satisfaction in a more decorous way, he decided to beard the lion in his den. Going to Araujo y Río's house one morning, he pushed past the servants to the presidential bed chamber, gave the august occupant a piece of his mind, and returned home a happier man. When he was overtaken by an officer sent by the outraged Araujo y Río to arrest him, he refused to submit. Juan, who had also been addressed with the denigrative *usted*, supported him in his refusal. They argued that, in the first place, they were naval officers and as such acknowledged no superior in Quito, and that in the second

²⁰ It is true that in 1747 Araujo y Río, who had returned to Spain, succeeded in getting the Consejo de Indias to vindicate him and to punish not only his principal accusers but also the special judge (*pesquisidor*) appointed by the king to investigate the charges. But these charges were so numerous and circumstantial and were supported by so many respectable people that it is almost impossible to believe that he was not guilty. The progress of the case is summarised in *consultas* of the Consejo de Indias dated February 18 and 23 and December 16, 1741 (AGI, Audiencia de Quito, leg. 104) and July 12, 1747 (*ibid.*, leg. 105); and the *expediente* cited above, note 19, contains many references to it.

place a mere president of an audiencia had no right to interfere with agents engaged in the performance of duties for which they were commissioned by the king himself.

Araujo y Río promptly sent an armed band to take the two insolent boys dead or alive. A skirmish ensued in which blood was shed and the president's men were worsted; and Juan and Ulloa succeeded in making their way into a church where they took sanctuary. Araujo y Río then threw a cordon around the building and prepared to starve them out, swearing—according to one reliable account—that he would put them to death as soon as they fell into his hands. Though they had many friends in the higher ranks of Quito society, especially among the Jesuits, these friends were powerless to protect them against the president, who was virtually a dictator, and things might have gone hard with them had not Juan slipped out of the church under cover of night and set out for Lima to seek the viceroy's protection. He succeeded to perfection, for he reached Lima safely and obtained an order from the viceroy directing Araujo y Río to let the two young men go on about their business pending the decision of their case by the court.

That, indeed, is the course that Araujo y Río himself decided to take as soon as he learned that Juan had escaped to tell his story to the viceroy; and since he had the privilege of direct correspondence with the court he now bent all his efforts toward turning it against his antagonists. The despatches²¹ in which he described how Juan and Ulloa were turning the whole province of Quito upside down by the example of their scandalous insubordination had the desired effect. At court, the case was handled by the Consejo de Indias. Already prejudiced against them because it had not been consulted about their appointment, that body recommended that Juan and Ulloa should be summarily recalled to Spain and punished according to their deserts; and, although after a long delay, the king decided to let them complete their scientific

²¹ His despatches are contained in the *expediente* cited above, note 19.

mission, he approved the recommendation that they should be punished upon their return to Spain.²²

Again good fortune, aided and abetted by the viceroy of Peru, came to their aid. The recommendation of the Consejo de Indias was made in March, 1738, the king's decision was embodied in a royal order issued in June, 1739,²³ and in the same year the war of Jenkins's Ear broke out between Spain and England. Invading the South Pacific, the English attacked Peru. The two young naval lieutenants were now in their element. They possessed a far better knowledge of the arts of warfare and navigation than did most of the higher officials of Peru, and the viceroy gave them abundant opportunity to distinguish themselves. On two different occasions he employed them in important undertakings; they served him well; and he promoted them to the rank of captain, subject to the king's approval, and praised them highly in his despatches to the court.²⁴

After devoting the greater part of three years to the defense of Peru, they returned to Quito for a few months in 1744 to complete their scientific mission. That done, they prepared for the long and dangerous journey back to Spain, which they accomplished not by way of Panama, as they had come, but around Cape Horn. Since the war had disrupted communications between Spain and America and prevented the regular sailing of the treasure fleets, the king had given permission to four French ships from St. Malo to call at Callao for a cargo of two million pesos.²⁵ Traveling separately for the better protection of the records of their work,

²² AGI, Audiencia de Quito, leg. 104, *consulta* of the Consejo de Indias dated March 24, 1738, with the king's decision endorsed on the cover. Under this is a note, "Pub[lica]da en 5 de Junio de 1739, y expidanse las ordenes correspondientes".

²³ See the preceding note.

²⁴ Speaking of their preparations for departure from Callao in 1744, Ulloa says: "The viceroy had given us leave to return [to Spain] with the greatest marks of esteem" (*A Voyage to South America*, II, 230).

²⁵ La Condamine, p. 212.

Juan and Ulloa embarked in two of these ships, which sailed from Callao on October 22, 1744. Though Juan's ship was delayed at Valparaiso by an accident, he reached Spain first arriving at Madrid in January, 1746, after an adventurous journey that carried him to St. Domingue, Brest, and Paris. In the latter place he addressed the Academy of Sciences and was elected a corresponding member of that body.²⁶

Ulloa's ship—hopefully named the *Notre Dame de Bonne Délivrance*—and its two companions got safe past Cape Horn and the enemy-infested West Indies, but at a point just north of the Azores they were attacked by English privateers. Possibly because it was the smallest and presumably the least valuable of the three French ships, the *Délivrance* was the only one that escaped capture. With a wholesome respect for British sea power, its captain now decided to seek safety in Acadia. They arrived at Louisbourg in August, 1745, after a comparatively uneventful voyage, and as they entered the harbor "complacency and joy swelled every heart" at the sight of the French flags fluttering over the town. Complacency and joy soon turned to bitter disappointment, for, when it was too late to retreat, they found that the flags lied—Sir William Shirley with his doughty New Englanders and a British fleet had taken the place.²⁷

Again, however, fortune favored Ulloa. Though he suffered the annoyance of imprisonment and another postponement of his scientific and literary labors, he was well treated in Acadia and was soon sent to London. There he continued to receive generous treatment, met many distinguished scientists and writers, and was made a fellow of the Royal Society—a signal honor for an enemy alien. After a delay caused by the uprising in Scotland, the good offices of his influential friends enabled him to recover his notes and papers, which the admiralty had turned over to the East India Company. Returning to Spain by way of Lisbon, he arrived

²⁶ Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, II. 282.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

at Madrid in July, 1746, eleven years and two months after he and Juan set out from Cadiz for Cartagena de Indias.²⁸

II

Even if the comminatory royal order of 1739 had not been forgotten by this time, there was no disposition on the part of the court to carry out the threat it contained. In the course of the seven years that had elapsed since the issuance of the order many things had happened to reinstate Juan and Ulloa in favor. They had won high praise from the viceroy by their services in defense of Peru; they had been signally honored by two of the most distinguished learned societies in the world; Philip V., who issued the order of 1739, was dead, and his successor, Ferdinand VI., was no doubt glad to be able to signalise the beginning of his reign by a conspicuous patronage of learning. At any rate, he gave instructions through his chief minister, the Marqués de la Ensenada, that the viceroy's promotion of Juan and Ulloa to the rank of captain should be confirmed and that they should write an account of the expedition and submit it for publication at government expense.²⁹

Though the account was not published until 1748, the writers were not responsible for the delay. Within two weeks after Ulloa's arrival in Madrid he and Juan submitted a detailed inventory of their papers and a sketch of the book that they proposed to write. It appears from this inventory that, although at the time of his capture at Louisbourg Ulloa had thrown overboard the manuscript of several sections that he

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 314-319. Among Ulloa's friends were William Watson and Martin Folkes, president of the Royal Society. Folkes communicated an abstract of Ulloa's papers to the Society (*Philosophical Transactions . . . Abridged*, IX. (London, 1809), 316, note; see also below, note 30). P. H. Maty, *General Index to the Philosophical Transactions* (London, 1787), p. 776, credits Ulloa with three contributions—observations on two solar eclipses, 1748 and 1778, and an earthquake at Cadiz, 1755.

²⁹ Archivo General de Simancas, Marina, leg. 712, "Exp[edien]te s[ob]re las obras de dn Jorge Juan, y dn Anto de Ulloa," slip of paper stating that their commissions as *capitanes de fragatas* were issued on July 20, 1746.

had already written, all the original records of the expedition were preserved intact.³⁰ They were, therefore, able to proceed with the labor of composition as soon as they received the necessary authorisation and to make such rapid progress that Juan's part of the book was completed by March 22, 1747, the first half of Ulloa's by June 29 and the second half by September 22 of the same year.³¹

³⁰ *Ibid.*, representation by Antonio de Ulloa, Madrid, August 2, 1746, reviewing the work that he and Juan had done in Peru and enclosing a "Memoria de los Asumptos que contienen los Papeles de las Observaciones" etc.; *ibid.*, a similar representation by Juan. Ulloa's statement that he threw his manuscript overboard at the time of his capture by the British casts serious doubt on Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta's explanation of the publication in London of Juan and Ulloa's *Noticias secretas* (1826). As I understand the passage (*Historia de España*, VI. 343), Ballesteros suggests that the manuscript of the *Noticias secretas* was among the papers taken from Ulloa by the British; that before the papers were restored to Ulloa in London, the British government had that manuscript copied, and kept the copy; and that the book published in London in 1826 was made from this copy. There are several reasons why it is impossible to accept this explanation. (1) We have Ulloa's statement that he threw all his manuscript overboard (so that all the British got was his notes). (2) Ulloa's statement (which is also made in his *Voyage to South America*, II. 270) on this point is fully corroborated by a letter written in 1746 by Martin Folkes, president of the Royal Society of London, and addressed to the Earl of Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty. Folkes, who had been commissioned to examine Ulloa's papers, reported in this letter that he had done so, and that they contained nothing whatever of interest to the general public and that they would scarcely be useful even to the learned world until Ulloa had organised his "original memoranda scattered through rough drafts and loose notes" (Spanish translation of Folkes's letter in Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de los Mejores Escritores del Reinado de Carlos III*, Madrid, 1789, VI. 160-162). (3) Folkes's letter also states precisely what information he took (that is, copied) from Ulloa's papers, and that information was of a purely technical character, such as the latitude of several cities in South America, etc. (See above, note 28.) (4) In the letter cited below, note 44, Ulloa stated that he wrote the confidential report (from which the *Noticias secretas* was later printed) in 1748 or 1749, that is, long after his release by the British and his return to Spain. (5) If, in the face of all this evidence, we admit that the British government did get a copy of the manuscript of the *Noticias secretas* in 1746, there still remains the almost insuperable difficulty of explaining why eighty years were permitted to elapse before the manuscript was published.

³¹ These are the dates of the reports made by the readers to whom these several sections of the work were first submitted, so it is obvious that the sections were completed some time—probably several weeks at least—prior to these dates. The reports in question are contained in the *expediente* cited above, note 29.

Then, however, the manuscript had to run the gauntlet of a long line of censors, and although their reports³² were altogether favorable, save for minor criticisms, it was not until June, 1748, that the last report was submitted. The manufacture of the book also presented difficulties that delayed its appearance. Suitable paper was found in Barcelona, and the authors finally decided to content themselves with the type available in Madrid rather than take the time to get a superior variety in Holland, as at first they planned to do. The problem of the engravings was not so easily solved. The only engraver in Madrid who could do the work wanted to take a year for only half of it, and the authors had to send their sketches to Paris, where all the engravings were made within three months.³³

At last, all these difficulties were surmounted and the book was published in 1748. It consisted of five volumes. The first four volumes, entitled *Relación histórica del Viage a la América meridional* and containing an account of the experiences of Juan and Ulloa from 1735 to 1746, together with a description of the people and places they saw, were written by Ulloa; the fifth volume, containing a technical account of the scientific work of the expedition, was written by Juan.³⁴ The division of labor was a natural one. Ulloa was the better writer of the two, and his encyclopaedic mind and wide-ranging curiosity fitted him admirably for the writing of the general account, which, aside from its narrative of travel and adventure, contains observations on history, anthropology, geology, linguistics, morals, and many other subjects. In short, he not only wrote four-fifths of this coöperative work: he wrote the only part of it that ever interested the general public. It was also Ulloa who handled the financial accounts and saw the book through the press. And yet, since Juan had shared his labors

³² *Expediente* cited above, note 29.

³³ This information is contained in papers in the *expediente* cited above, note 29.

³⁴ This is made unmistakably clear not only by the text of the book but also by the reports of the censors to whom it was submitted.

in Peru, Juan's name appeared on the title-page of all five volumes; and, since Juan outranked him in the navy, Juan's name was printed before Ulloa's on every title-page.

The book did not disappoint the hope, expressed by several of those who read it in manuscript, that it would make a noise in Europe. That national pride had a great deal to do with the publication of it is apparent from all the records. In the opinion of one of the censors, the Marqués de la Regalía, the book would show the world "that the Spaniards have not lost either the appetite or the talent for great undertakings"; and another, the distinguished Jesuit scholar, Andrés Marcos Burriel, wrote,

This is one of the best and most useful books that have been published in our tongue; and I have no doubt that . . . it is destined to fulfil every expectation of the European public, to the great glory of the nation, of his Majesty, of the ministry, and of its authors. . . .³⁵

It was this thirst for fame among the literati of Europe that induced the government to draw aside the veil of secrecy with which it had hitherto sought to hide the Indies from the prying eyes of foreigners. The decision was made all the easier by the realisation that foreign interlopers had already penetrated the veil in many places and that in some respects other nations were better informed about the Indies than was Spain itself.³⁶

Distributed broadcast by the court, the book at once met

³⁵ Burriel's report of June 29, 1747, and the Marqués de la Regalía's report of June 13, 1748 (both in the *expediente* cited above, note 29). It is difficult for a layman to follow the reasoning of the inquisitor general, who, in discussing Juan's volume, said that he found nothing wrong with it, "antes bien dexa muy dignamente expressada la condenacion del sistema de Copernico aunque entre los Mathematicos Catholicos se haya propuesto como Hipotesi, por explicar con tal movim[ien]to, que confiesan fingido, los del orbe del Cielo, y sus astros" (*ibid.*, report dated Madrid, April 10, 1747).

³⁶ The Marqués de la Regalía emphasised this consideration in his report of September 13, 1747, condemning "aquella supersticiosa politica con que, à exemplo de los Romanos en las primeras centurias de su Republica, ocultabamos a los Extrangeros n[uest]ra situacion, Gov[er]no y Presidios; el tiempo la ha hecho vana y ridicula en las Yndias" (*ibid.*).

with acclaim despite the fact that it was written in Spanish, a language not widely known in other countries even in learned circles. Copies for sale were distributed among the provincial intendants of Spain, and complimentary copies were sent to the kings of Portugal, Naples, and France, to the Royal Society of London, the French Academy of Sciences, and similar societies, and—as a gesture of triumph—to the French members of the expedition, Bouguer and La Condamine, whom Juan and Ulloa had beaten into print. Fathers Berthier and Clairvoix of Paris—the latter of whom was then engaged in writing his history of Paraguay—read it at once, praised it highly, and expressed the opinion that it would put the French associates of Juan and Ulloa to shame.⁸⁷ As time went on, the solid merits and unique value of the book were more and more widely recognised, and ultimately the language difficulty was removed by its translation into German (1751), French (1752), English (1758), and Dutch (1771). The English translation, which was made by John Adams, passed through five editions (1758, 1760, 1772, 1806, and 1807),⁸⁸ and, with a few omissions, it was again printed in 1813 in John Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages*. In the present article the title of the English translation, *A Voyage to South America*, is used in referring to the book.

As soon as this task was completed, Juan and Ulloa wrote another account of their observations which is comparable in scope and importance to their *Voyage to South America*. This

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, *carpeta* containing the replies of the Spanish intendants to an inquiry from the Marqués de la Ensenada in regard to the sale of the book; Ignacio de Luzan to the Marqués de la Ensenada, Paris, September 12, 1748. For letters from London and Bologna praising the book, see Sempere, VI. 163-167.

⁸⁸ These translations and editions are those listed in the catalogue of the British Museum. There may have been other editions; there were certainly other printings—for instance the Dublin printing of the second edition, which is the one referred to in the present article. According to Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America*, IX. (New York, 1877), 360, Adams was the translator of the first three English editions, but not of the fourth and fifth. Sabin himself erroneously attributes Ulloa's *Noticias Americanas* to Jorge Juan (*ibid.*, pp. 358-359).

is the confidential report which is generally known today by the title under which it was first published many years later, *Noticias secretas de América*, but which the authors themselves entitled *Discurso, y Reflexiones Políticas sobre el Estado presente de los Reynos del Perú*. . . .³⁹ Containing valuable information about the military defenses of Peru and a frank revelation of many faults in the Spanish régime there—notably the venality of the colonial officials, the tyranny of the *corregidores*, the exploitation of the Indians by the village priests, the horrors of the *mita*, and the dangerous antagonism existing between the creoles and the European Spaniards—it was of course written for the eyes of the court alone. Not until nearly eighty years later did it become known outside of court circles. In 1826, David Barry, an English merchant of Cadiz, somehow got hold of a copy which he published at London, with some slight alterations, under the title *Noticias secretas de América*.⁴⁰

³⁹ Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Sección de Manuscritos, no. 3072, bound vol., ms., 343 folios numbered in pencil. On the fly-leaf is the endorsement, "Se compró en 22 de Marzo de 1864"; on the back of the title-page another endorsement, "Me lo regaló don Joaquín de Aguirre. Senrra [rubric]." See Julián Paz, *Catálogo de Manuscritos de América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1933), no. 1,295, p. 595.

⁴⁰ In 1918, the 1826 edition was reprinted as vols. 31 and 32 of the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*. So far as the present writer is aware, no one has ever explained precisely how or when Barry obtained a copy of the confidential report or why he published it at London in Spanish in 1826 (see note 30, above). Some interesting information which furnishes ground for a partial and conjectural answer to these questions is contained in the long notice of the *Noticias secretas* published in the *London Quarterly Review* in March, 1827 (XXXV. 321-351). In the first place, the reviewer says that Barry, a Roman Catholic, was educated in Spain, spent a large part of his life there, and "at an earlier period of life" traveled extensively in the Spanish colonies; that he was "the person chosen to conduct one of the greatest of recent schemes for applying English capital to the improvement of the new [Spanish American] states"; and that "in this capacity he made a tour which lasted nearly three years, and embraced almost every district of Spanish America. . . ." The reviewer then gives us the significant information that Barry returned from this recent tour completely disillusioned and convinced that, "until the governments are more settled than they now are, and the people more unlike their fathers", any effort to push British investments in Spanish America "must be attended with ruinous consequences". The reviewer implies quite

Quite naturally, the book is galling to Spanish pride, and historians of that country have tried in various ways to deprive it of its full effect. Rafael Altamira even went so far as to question its authenticity; and while Cervera and Ballesteros,⁴¹ after studying the problem more carefully than did

definitely that he obtained this information from Barry himself (*loc. cit.*, pp. 350-351). In the second place, this same article reviews the first two volumes of Navarrete's *Colección de los viages . . .*, published in Madrid in 1825 at government expense. The point emphasized by the reviewer is Navarrete's attempt to defend Spain's treatment of the Indians and to pave the way for a reconciliation between Spain and its former colonies.

Barry would probably not have published the *Noticias* if he had not failed so utterly in his tour that he had no hope of better success for a long time to come, for the book was certainly not good propaganda for the kind of scheme in which he had until very recently been concerned. The information that it contained was not of a kind to create confidence on the part of British investors in the Spanish American people, nor would the association of Barry's name with so scathing a criticism of those people be likely to help him in his business dealings with them. After the collapse of his Spanish American scheme, these considerations no longer had any weight with him, and no reason remained why he should not publish the confidential report of Juan and Ulloa. The motive for publishing it may well have been furnished by the publication of Navarrete's *Viages*. This book, which defended the Spanish colonial régime, appeared in 1825; Barry's *Noticias secretas*, which attacked the Spanish colonial régime, appeared in 1826; and both were reviewed together by Barry's friend in the *Quarterly Review*. Whether Barry was moved by a desire to serve the cause of truth, or whether he merely wished to vent his spleen against the Spanish Americans, who were responsible for the failure of his great business undertaking, or whether he had some other motive, we can not say. The writer in the *Quarterly Review* said that Barry was planning to publish an English translation of the *Noticias secretas*. It does not appear that he ever did so. Barry states in his *prólogo* to the *Noticias* that he obtained the manuscript in 1823 after his return from his three-year tour of South America; but he does not say how he obtained it and his account of that tour differs in some respects from the one given by the writer of the review.

⁴¹ Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, VI. 342; Cervera, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff. Speaking of Spanish colonial history, Altamira says that even for the eighteenth century "son textos calificados como de primera importancia muchos que son historiografía ó cosa de muy análoga condición, como las *Noticias secretas* atribuidas á Jorge Juan y Ulloa, y respecto de las cuales la primera cuestión que debería ser planteada es la de su autenticidad" (*Congreso de Historia y Geografía Hispano-Americano Celebrado en Sevilla en Abril de 1914: Actas y Memorias*, Madrid, 1914, p. 186). A footnote to this passage refers to Altamira's paper, "Some Aspects of Spanish Colonial History", which was read at the Interna-

Altamira, accepted the *Noticias* as authentic in most respects, they state their conclusions in such a way as to make it appear that the book does Spain a substantial injustice. They assert that, by changing a word here and there, Barry made the published version criticise the Spanish colonial system more harshly than does the original manuscript; that Barry was guilty of unethical conduct in publishing a confidential report; and that, even though the *Noticias* is substantially identical with the original manuscript, neither the one nor the other represents the views that Juan and Ulloa would have expressed if they had designed their report for publication. It is hardly necessary to point out that most historians would regard the confidential nature of the report as the best justification for publishing it and as the best guarantee of its fidelity to fact and of the veracity of its authors. We may readily agree with Ballesteros that a new edition, based directly on the original manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, should be published; but until that is done, it should be distinctly understood that there are no important differences between the published version and the original manuscript,⁴² and that the authenticity of the latter

tional Congress of Historical Sciences, London, April, 1913; but I have not been able to find a copy of this paper.

⁴² The following are the most important differences: (1) The *Noticias secretas* contains an *apéndice* that is not part of the original manuscript; but not only is this fact obvious to any reader—Barry himself calls attention to it and explains why he made the addition. (2) The original manuscript is divided into twelve *sesiones*; the *Noticias secretas* is divided into two parts of nine chapters each, and the subdivisions of the manuscript are presented in somewhat different order. To be precise, Part I of the *Noticias* consists of *secciones* 1-3 of the manuscript, *sección* 1 becoming chs. 1-7; *sección* 2, ch. 8; and *sección* 3, ch. 9. Part II consists of *secciones* 4-12 in order, except that *secciones* 5, 6, and 7 become respectively chs. 4, 2, and 3. Otherwise no changes were made in the body of the account. No *secciones* were omitted, and no chapters were added. (3) The *Noticias secretas* does, however omit the four-page *prólogo* contained in the original manuscript. More than this, the *prólogo* with which Barry prefaced the *Noticias* does contain one statement that—at least by obvious implication—distorts the character and purpose of the confidential report made by Juan and Ulloa. After praising them for exposing the grave abuses prevalent in Spanish America, Barry says: “Pero considerando el Gobierno español que los abusos referidos eran

is not open to serious question. It seems to have been mainly the work of Ulloa, for it bears the stamp of the same encyclopaedic, inquiring mind that produced the *Voyage to South America* and the paper and handwriting bear a very close resemblance⁴³ to those of other documents of the period of which Ulloa was unquestionably the author.

Some valuable information on this subject is contained in an autograph letter written by Ulloa in 1762 and recently discovered by the present writer. This letter,⁴⁴ addressed to the secretary of state for the colonies, Julián de Arriaga, was written in reply to a royal order of 1761 directing Ulloa to make a confidential report on the conduct of the treasury officials (*oficiales reales*) of the province of Huancavélica, Peru, of which he was then governor. In the course of the letter, which described scandalous abuses committed by the treasury officials in connivance with their superiors at Lima, he said:

Part of what I have told your Excellency can be found, if it please you, in a confidential report on the civil and political government of these kingdoms [the viceroyalty of Peru] that I wrote in the year '48 or '49 by order of his Majesty and by disposition of his Excellency,

enormes, y que su publicación sería injuriosa al Estado y denigrativa á la nación, determinó quedase este informe encerrado en los archivos. . . .'' The obvious implication is that Juan and Ulloa intended their report for publication; but note the words of the *prólogo* written by Juan and Ulloa and omitted by Barry: "Estas materias reservadas son las que contiene la presente Obra . . . con la prevencion de haver de quedar su noticia para el solo fin que va expresado, devriendose temer de lo contrario sucediesen con su divulgazion los daños que con las representaciones del Obispo de Chiapa [Bartolomé de las Casas], que tanto descredito han causado para con los Extranjeros al Comun de toda la Nacion Española quando los excesos inevitables en los subditos, y mas quando estan distantes de sus Príncipes, los hazen y creen generales, y característicos a todos los demas. . . .''

⁴³ It should be stated that my opinion that the manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional resembles, in both paper and handwriting, certain letters unquestionably written by Ulloa, is based upon my examination of the documents, but that it would obviously require the services of an expert in such matters to settle the question.

⁴⁴ AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 775, Ulloa to Arriaga, Huancavélica, August 15, 1762, autograph, not numbered.

the Marqués de la Ensenada, and which I filed in your ministry of the colonies, and I have no doubt that it is still there, for after your Excellency took over that office I one day found Don Francisco de Aosmendi reading it. In the part of this account that deals with the treasury officials, the irregularities in the administration of the exchequer [*Real Hacienda*] are noted; but since the experience that I had acquired at that time was not so extensive as that which intimate participation in the administration of the exchequer has given me, what I said in that account is only a very faint sketch of what actually happens.

This letter points to some interesting conclusions. In the first place, it proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that a confidential report on Peru was written by Ulloa in 1748 or 1749, and that that report discussed at least one of the subjects that are discussed in both the manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional and the *Noticias secretas*, and dealt with it in the same critical spirit. In the second place, the letter heightens the lurid effect of the *Noticias secretas*, for it shows that if the report of 1749 had been written from Ulloa's larger experience of 1762, he would have painted an even darker picture of the Spanish colonial régime than the one of which apologists for Spain are now complaining. In the third place, the letter shows that the report of 1749 was not pigeonholed and entirely forgotten, as is sometimes assumed, but that it was read by one of the officials of the colonial department some time after Arriaga took charge of it, which was in the year 1754.

Finally, the letter to Arriaga strengthens the assumption that the confidential report of 1749 was mainly the work of Ulloa, for Ulloa speaks of it as "the report that I wrote", not as "the report that Juan and I wrote". To be sure, Juan's name appears on the title-page along with Ulloa's; but it also appears on the title-page of the first four volumes of the *Voyage to South America*, which were certainly written by Ulloa alone, just as Ulloa's name appears on the title-page of the fifth volume, which was written by Juan alone. In other

words, the title-pages of the works that Juan and Ulloa wrote at this period are misleading; and if we are to determine which of the two wrote a given book, we must draw our conclusion from some other source than the title-page. In the case of the confidential report on Peru, the evidence we have mentioned, though not conclusive, points to Ulloa as the sole author.⁴⁴

III

Upon the completion of the report in question, Ulloa was sent to France and the Netherlands on a special mission that occupied him for the next two years and that ultimately carried him to Denmark and Sweden as well. His passport stated that he was to go to Paris to study mathematics, but his secret instructions show that his mission was part of a plan to promote the industry and commerce and strengthen the military defenses of Spain. His principal duty was to obtain information about the ports, harbors, roads, canals, and factories of France and the Netherlands, and to induce skilled workmen from those countries to emigrate to Spain. For this purpose he was to visit Toulon, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Brest, Rochefort, Lyon, and other cities, as well as Paris, and was then to proceed to the Netherlands.⁴⁵

He executed his mission to the complete satisfaction of the court. Going by way of Barcelona and Marseilles, he arrived in Paris in January, 1750. In the summer he visited Brest and other Atlantic ports of France. In February of the next year, the court wrote him that, since he had made so much progress and was needed in Spain, he should return as soon as he had visited the Netherlands; but he asked permission to

⁴⁴ It is a curious fact that although Barry's *prólogo* to the *Noticias secretas* speaks of both Juan and Ulloa as the authors of it, the person who reviewed the book for the *Quarterly Review* (see above, note 40) stated explicitly that Ulloa wrote "the whole of these *Noticias*" (*loc. cit.*, p. 321, note).

⁴⁵ The draft of the passport and the *Instrucción reservada* are in Archivo General de Simancas, Marina, leg. 712, *expediente* on Ulloa's mission to Paris, etc., 1749-1751. Before he left for Paris, Ulloa, in collaboration with Juan, wrote a treatise (which was published in 1749) on the boundary between the dominions of Spain and Portugal in South America.

include Denmark and Sweden in his tour and his request was granted. By December, he was back in Paris and early in 1752 he returned to Madrid. The results of his observations and inquiries were embodied in a series of reports that he wrote after his return.⁴⁶ They contain a great deal of valuable information, and if the one that describes the roads of France were published, it would take rank with the well known work on the same subject that Arthur Young wrote a generation later.

Rejoining the *Guardias Marinas* at Cadiz, he remained there until 1757. During this period the court frequently consulted him about important projects, such as the founding of a museum of natural history and an astronomical observatory. In 1757, he gave up the naval for the colonial service, accepting appointment to a key post of great difficulty in Peru—the governorship of Huancavélica and the superintendence of its quicksilver mine. The post was an important one because that mine was the only one of its kind in America and was in normal times the sole source of supply of an article which was indispensable for the working of the rich silver mines of Potosí.⁴⁷ The post was an extremely difficult one, partly because of the technical problem of maintaining an adequate volume of production in a mine that had been in operation for nearly two centuries, and partly because the miners and local officials were leagued together in a fraud ring that was apparently invincible.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The information in this paragraph is taken from Ulloa's correspondence and reports contained in the *expediente* cited in the preceding note.

⁴⁷ Prior to 1742, shipments of quicksilver from Huancavélica were also made to Mexico, but the cost was so excessive that in that year the king ordered that no more shipments of this kind should be made. Quicksilver mined at Almadén, Spain, was delivered at Vera Cruz at a net cost of 20 pesos a quintal (it was sold there for 82 pesos a quintal); whereas quicksilver mined at Huancavélica cost the crown 58 pesos a quintal at that place, and there was then the cost of transportation to Mexico (AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 442, the Marqués de la Regalía and Joseph Cornejo to Joseph de Campillo, Madrid, June 10, 1742; *ibid.*, Joseph Cornejo to Patiño, San Ildefonso, August 27, 1734).

⁴⁸ For many years before Ulloa's appointment, the court had been making determined but unavailing efforts to reform the many flagrant abuses in the system

The records suggest that Ulloa's old friend, Jorge Juan, who also was serving with the *Guardias Marinas* at that time and was frequently consulted by the court, had something to do with the appointment;⁴⁹ but that it was made in recognition of his merits is shown by the memorandum of Arriaga's advice to the king in the matter. "It is very important," said Arriaga,

that an honest and intelligent person should fill this post, and in all the time that I have sought for such a person I have found no one who is better qualified for it than Don Antonio de Ulloa . . . of whom I spoke to your Majesty on a former occasion; and I now renew the recommendation, for I have been assured that he has made a special study of metals, mines, and construction, and he is most disinterested.⁵⁰

Ulloa professed to be not at all eager to make the change. Surrounded by his relatives and friends and with congenial work to do, he found life at Cadiz very pleasant. In prestige, he said, his present career in the navy was not inferior to the one offered him in the colonies. "It also has the advantage," he added, "that here I am free from many cares and from the vexations [*desazones*] that might unexpectedly occur in that occupation."⁵¹ If, as this passage suggests, the information

prevailing at Huancavélica. Jerónimo de Sola y Fuente was its principal agent for this purpose. In 1745, after a long investigation on the spot, he entered into a new contract with the miners on behalf of the crown (printed copy in AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 818); but, as instructed, he left the existing system, which was radically defective, untouched in its main outlines and merely tried to correct it in certain details. This contract was still in force during Ulloa's administration, and he therefore had to deal with long-standing evils arising out of a vicious system that both the local officials and the court had been either unwilling or unable to reform. In 1754 and 1755, shortly before Ulloa's arrival, production at Huancavélica fell off so sharply that Peru suffered from a severe shortage of quicksilver.

⁴⁹ See below, note 51.

⁵⁰ AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 775, folder labeled "Guancavelica, Año de 1757," Arriaga's representation, undated, beginning, "Señor. Ha dos años. . . ." It contains the endorsement, "El Rey le confiere a Dn Antonio de Ulloa."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Ulloa to Arriaga, Cadiz, July 27, 1757. In both this and another letter to Arriaga dated July 11, 1757 (*ibid.*), Ulloa speaks of learning through Jorge Juan of the intentions of the court regarding his appointment.

about Huancavélica that he had acquired during his first residence in Peru⁵² caused him to view with some apprehension the prospect of governing that stormy province, he was soon to find out that his fears were only too well justified. But the larger salary—8000 pesos a year instead of the 4800 pesos that he was receiving at Cadiz⁵³—proved an irresistible bait, and he accepted. Perhaps the recent fall from power of his patron, the Marqués de la Ensenada, also disposed him to try his fortune in a new career.⁵⁴

Sailing from Spain at the end of January, 1758,⁵⁵ he arrived in Huancavélica on November 2 and took over the government two days later. His first despatch to Arriaga, dated November 15,⁵⁶ describes a clash he had already had with the miners, and the fight thus early begun continued with increasing bitterness throughout his administration. At first, he met with some success in his effort to introduce efficiency and honesty into the operation of the mine, the payment of cash advances to the miners by the government, and the repayment

⁵² Ulloa's letter of July 27, cited in the preceding note, states that he "knew" Huancavélica during the administration of Jerónimo de Sola; but it appears that he did not visit the place in person (Juan and Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, II, 93). Before he sailed, Ulloa was given additional reason to apprehend trouble in Huancavélica. Toward the end of September, 1757, the daughter and son-in-law of former Governor Leyba of Huancavélica, who had recently died there, arrived at Cadiz from Peru and gave him a first-hand account of the disorders prevalent there. The insubordinate miners had openly resisted Leyba's efforts at reform and, it was charged, had even tried to murder the *visitador* whom they thought responsible for Leyba's efforts (AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 1326, Ulloa to Arriaga, Cadiz, September 26, 1757).

⁵³ Ulloa's salary of 2400 *escudos* at Cadiz (letter of July 27, 1757, cited above, note 51) was equivalent to 4800 pesos.

⁵⁴ Fernández Duro, VI, 393, shows that the scribblers of the victorious faction attacked Juan and Ulloa along with their fallen patron.

⁵⁵ He first expected to sail late in September, 1757. The court was at least partly responsible for the delay, since, when it sent him his commission, it forgot to enclose his sailing permit (AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 775, Ulloa to Arriaga, Cadiz, August 3, 1757, and September 7, 1757, two letters). Before his departure, and in order to impress the creoles of Peru, he received investiture as Comendador de Ocaña in the Order of Santiago. Offered the honor some time since, he had postponed the ceremony because of the expense involved.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Ulloa to Arriaga, Huancavélica, November 15, 1758.

of those sums to the treasury; but he was doomed to failure by the collusion that existed between the miners and their abettors, who included officials, ecclesiastical as well as secular, both at Huancavélica and at the viceregal capital, Lima. The harder he strove to destroy the net of fraud that enmeshed his province, the more astutely did his powerful enemies move to checkmate him and bring about his ruin. Their influence was so widespread and reached into such high places that they were able to turn even the viceroy and the audiencia against the luckless governor.⁵⁷

By May, 1762, Ulloa was confessing himself utterly exhausted and hopelessly beaten. In a letter in which he used the same word, *desazones*, that had betrayed his misgivings about the post at Huancavélica while he was still debating whether to accept it, he implored the court to rescue him from a situation made unendurable by the "vexations, mortifications, and rebuffs" that he was suffering.⁵⁸ In August of that year, he wrote the confidential report on the misconduct of the treasury officials of Huancavélica from which we have already quoted.⁵⁹ In another part of that report he said:

To remedy this situation is, if not altogether impossible, at least extremely difficult because of the way in which these abuses, as well as the people who are responsible for them, are linked together. The situation is such that the mine operators do their business under the protection afforded them by the bribes they pay the treasury officials; and I may say the same thing about the *corregidor*, the *arrendador de alcabalas*, the smuggler, and others. The treasury official in turn acts under the protection of judicial officials, of the subordinate officials of the viceroy's palace, and of the attorney general [*fiscal*]⁶⁰—and the office of the latter is a marketplace where he who has no substance to distribute is an object of contempt.

⁵⁷ The information in this paragraph is taken from letters too numerous to cite. Most of Ulloa's are in AGI, Audiencia de Lima, legs. 775, 818, 842, 843, and 1326. The other side of the story, as told by the miners, the *fiscal*, and the viceroy, is principally in *Ibid.*, legs. 639, 775, 835, and 846.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, leg. 775, Ulloa to Arriaga, Huancavélica, May 14, 1762, no. 56.

⁵⁹ Letter cited above, note 44.

Even more serious charges appear in other letters, for he asserted that both the audiencia of Lima and the viceroy, Manuel de Amat, were actuated by dishonorable motives in their opposition to him.⁶⁰ The audiencia, he said, hoped to discredit him in order to pave the way for a return to the system under which Huancavélica was formerly governed—that is, by rotating the office of governor and superintendent among the members of that tribunal, each of whom would enrich himself during his administration. As for Amat, he was angry because Ulloa refused to pay him the annual bribe of 10,000 or 12,000 pesos a year that he was accustomed to collect from the government of Huancavélica. There was probably some truth in these charges, for the viceroy and the audiencia, far from giving Ulloa the support to which he was entitled, issued a series of unjust and humiliating decrees that destroyed the last vestige of his authority over his unruly province; and it may be added that by the end of his term as viceroy, Amat's name had become a byword for corruption throughout Peru.

By the summer of 1763, Ulloa's complaints and prayers for relief, together with the vicious charges preferred against him by the viceroy—they included almost every offence from technical incompetence to embezzlement—had moved even the leisurely Spanish court to action. A mass of documents relating to the dispute was collected and sent to Jorge Juan for his opinion. His report⁶¹ was favorable to Ulloa, whom he described as "certainly one of the most intelligent of Spaniards"; but, he continued, no good purpose would be served by keeping him in Huancavélica, where he was at the mercy of his enemies. It was accordingly recommended that he should be recalled and employed elsewhere. On January 4,

⁶⁰ AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 842, *expediente* no. 106, Ulloa to the king, Huancavélica, September 30, 1761; Ulloa to Arriaga, Lima, March 15, 1762; leg. 843, Ulloa to the king, Huancavélica, March 20, 1764; Ulloa to Arriaga, Havana, February 28, 1765.

⁶¹ AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 1631, draft of an *informe* by Jorge Juan, dated July 18, 1763.

1764, a royal order to this effect was issued;⁶² and since the court probably realised that his enemies in Peru would hold him there if possible, so that they might continue to persecute him, the order warned the viceroy that Ulloa's departure must not be prevented or delayed on any pretext whatever. Subsequent events⁶³ showed that but for the peremptory terms of these instructions he might have been forced to spend the rest of his life in Peru contending on unequal terms with the officials, high and low, whose venality he had done so much to expose and—through no fault of his own—so little to correct.⁶⁴

This episode is a most significant one for the history of Spain's colonial administration. There was abundant evidence that Ulloa was in the right and that the administration of Peru was honeycombed with corruption. And yet the Spanish court was unable to sustain him; it was not even able to punish the corrupt squadron who were persecuting him for his honesty; the utmost that it could do was to rescue him from their clutches.

⁶² AGI, Audiencia de Lima, leg. 775, Ulloa to Arriaga, Huancavélica, July 13, 1764, acknowledging receipt of the royal order.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, leg. 843, Ulloa to Arriaga, Bellavista, October 10, and October 25, 1764, two letters; and Viceroy Amat to Arriaga, Lima, October 24 and November 13, 1764, two letters.

⁶⁴ The case against Ulloa was still pending in 1772. I am unable to state when or how it was settled. It was very complicated and the Consejo de Indias regarded it as highly important since it involved both the superintendence of the mine and the handling of large sums of money. The long delay in its settlement was apparently owing to two reasons. There was, first, the question of procedure—should certain charges against Ulloa be tried in the ordinary courts of justice, or should the whole case be tried by the *jues de residencia*? The latter alternative was finally chosen. Then arose the difficulty of finding a suitable person to conduct the *residencia*. Antonio Porlier was appointed to the post, but he soon resigned—because, said Ulloa, he was an honest man and realised that Viceroy Amat's continued presence in Peru, where he persecuted Ulloa's friends and intimidated his witnesses, made a fair investigation impossible. In 1772, the person appointed to succeed Porlier as *jues de residencia* excused himself and the commission then devolved upon the consejo's second choice. There my information about the affair ends. (The foregoing information is scattered through legs. 597, 644, 775, 843, and 851 in Audiencia de Lima, AGI).

Toward the end of 1764, Ulloa, armed with the peremptory royal order of January 4, succeeded in shaking off his enemies and left Peru. Sailing from Callao to Panama, he proceeded thence to Havana where he had been told to await further instructions. Before these arrived, he wrote Arriaga signifying his readiness to continue to serve the king in America if that were necessary, but begging the minister to help him to escape from "these ungrateful climes".⁶⁵ His Peruvian "Purgatory", as he called it,⁶⁶ had left him with no desire to protract his stay in the brave new world.

Unfortunately, it soon turned out that the king did have need of him in America. Louisiana had recently been ceded to Spain by France and just at the time when Ulloa's recall from Peru released him for service elsewhere, the court was preparing to take possession of the new province. Perhaps because it was thought that his two-year residence in France and his eight-year association with the French academicians in Peru fitted him to govern colonists most of whom were French, or perhaps merely because he was available, the king appointed him governor of Louisiana.

The unhappy story of his administration is so well known that the details need not be repeated here.⁶⁷ It should be pointed out, however, that while he again failed conspicuously, as he had done in Peru, this second failure, like the first, was due to circumstances over which he had no control. His own errors did not contribute to it in any important degree. The irritation caused by his unbending pride was a mere trifle in comparison with the hatred he incurred as the loyal agent of a power that the Louisianians cordially detested.

Commissioned in 1765, he went from Havana to New Or-

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, leg. 775, Ulloa to Arriaga, February 3, 1765.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, leg. 842, Ulloa to Arriaga, August 20, 1763.

⁶⁷ Recent discussions of this subject are contained in E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759-1804* (Norman, Okla., 1934), John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana* (Berkeley, 1934), and James E. Winston, "The Cause and Results of the Revolution of 1768 in Louisiana," *Louisiana Hist. Quarterly*, XV. 181:

leans early in 1766.⁶⁸ The troops and funds with which the court had provided him were utterly inadequate to his needs, and he was forced to leave the administration in the hands of the last French governor, Aubry, who henceforth governed the province in the name of the king of Spain. Though Ulloa warned the court time and again that the situation was an impossible one and that Spanish authority over the people of Louisiana could not be maintained unless he received heavy reinforcements,⁶⁹ little attention was paid to his warnings, and the measures adopted at Madrid only made the situation worse. Their indecisive character kept alive the creoles' hope that Louisiana might yet return to the possession of France and thereby fostered the spirit of fractiousness that was already so strong in them; and the court's commercial decree of 1768 was the immediate cause of the rebellion that drove Ulloa out of the province in October of the same year. Aubry was probably right when he said that insubordination had reigned in Louisiana for ten years past and that the storm of 1768 was necessary to clear the air.⁷⁰ Only by adopting a clear-cut policy and by supporting it with a sufficient show of

* A good deal of information about Spain's preparations for taking possession of Louisiana is contained in AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 2542. Among these documents is a letter (undated, but apparently written about the end of August, 1765) from Grimaldi to Ossun, the French ambassador, explaining the delay in Spain's preparations.

* On January 23, 1767 (despatch no. 12), Ulloa wrote Captain-General Bucareli of Cuba begging for additional funds to enable him to establish Spanish authority in Louisiana at once, for, he said, "estas gentes [the Louisiana creoles] aun sin motivo se alborotan sediciosamente: como ya se ha experimentado en varias ocasiones" (AGI, Papeles de Cuba, leg. 1055). In despatch no. 17 to Arriaga, dated March 15, 1767, he repeated the warning and said, "Todo es de recelar, y pide que se tire á contener con tiempo" (*ibid.*). Similar warnings are contained in other letters of this same series. When, as we now know, it was already too late, he wrote Grimaldi (July 20, 1768) urging him to hasten the sending of the troops from Spain that were to enable him to establish Spanish authority in Louisiana, concluding his letter with the phrase, "no aviendo ya sufrimiento ni disimulacion para sobrellevar los excesos y desordenes, que se experimentan" (*ibid.*, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 2542).

* *Ibid.*, Aubry to (the captain general of Cuba), New Orleans, October 16, 1769, French original and Spanish translation.

force could the court have saved the situation; but that is precisely what it failed most conspicuously to do.

Though it must have been as obvious then as it is now that Ulloa was not responsible for the fiasco, it brought his career in the colonial service to a close. He was doubtless well pleased with this result. Had he not, even before he knew that he was to go to Louisiana, begged Arriaga to rescue him from "these ungrateful climes" of America? At any rate, after his expulsion from New Orleans he hastened to return to Spain without waiting to get permission from the court.⁷¹

With the exception of one more unfortunate episode, the remaining twenty-seven years of his life were comparatively calm, happy, and uneventful. The court was apparently convinced that he had done the best he could in Louisiana, for he was permitted to resume his career in the navy, was soon promoted to the rank of *gefe de escuadra* (rear admiral), and continued to hold responsible posts to the end of his days. In 1777, he went to Vera Cruz in command of the last of the famous treasure fleets (*flotas*). For once he was altogether successful, and at the end of June, 1778, this son of Seville brought back to the rival city of Cadiz a treasure that he described as the richest ever sent from New Spain to the mother country.⁷² We may note in passing that the court's solicitude for the safety of this fleet was partly responsible for its refusal to support the pro-American policy of France early in 1778 and for delaying Spain's entry into the war of the American Revolution.

⁷¹ AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 2542, Ulloa to Grimaldi, Havana, December 10, 1768, copy. Ulloa's account of the uprising at New Orleans is contained in a 34-page letter to Grimaldi dated Havana, December 4, 1768 (copy in *ibid.*).

⁷² Archivo del Ayuntamiento, Seville, "Autógrafos," Ulloa to the "M. N. y M. Leal Ciudad de Sevilla", dated "Abordo del España á la vela á vista de Cadiz", June 28, 1778. Many of Ulloa's letters to Bucareli, written while he was in Mexico and containing interesting information of a personal character, are in AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 1631. Still interested in mining, he visited Guanajuato, and, apparently forgetting Potosí, he described the mine there as "the richest in the world".

In 1779, occurred the unfortunate episode mentioned above. Spain had by this time been drawn into the war with Great Britain, and Ulloa was given command of a squadron with orders to cruise between Galicia and the Azores. Upon his return from the cruise he was tried on various charges, the most serious of which were that he was responsible for the loss of a Spanish ship and for the escape of a fleet of British merchantmen which he should have captured. The court of inquiry gave him a complete vindication.⁷³ There is an amusing but apocryphal story⁷⁴ to the effect that he failed to fulfil the purpose of his mission because he was sailing under sealed orders and became so engrossed in the reading of a new scientific book that he forgot to open the orders until it was too late. A pretty story—but, if we are to believe the voluminous records of the trial, there is not a word of truth in it. There is no allusion to it in those records; on the other hand, the findings of the court of inquiry state that, far from being guilty of any neglect, Ulloa was entitled to reward for having done everything in his power to comply with his instructions in spite of most unfavorable weather and the poor condition of the ships assigned to him.

IV

After his return to Spain from Louisiana, he devoted a large part of his time to writing. His most important work of this period is his *Noticias Americanas* (Madrid, 1772), which should not by any means be confused with the *Voyage*

⁷³ Archivo General de Simancas, Marina, leg. 469, *expediente* on Ulloa's trial by a *consejo de Guerra*. The trial began on October 12, 1779, and ended on July 10, 1781.

⁷⁴ The story is told by Hoyos in the pamphlet cited above, note 1; in the article on Ulloa in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*; in Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New York, 1852), II. 149; and most recently in John W. Caughey, *op. cit.*, p. 8, where it is offered as proof that Ulloa was "occasionally the theorist, bungling practicalities". Caughey says Ulloa was engrossed in astronomical observations.

to *South America* of 1748.⁷⁵ The book published in 1772 is both briefer and more comprehensive than the earlier one, for, while it consists of only one volume, it deals with the whole of Spanish South America and the eastern part of North America; and it contains information about Louisiana and Florida and the quicksilver mine at Huancavélica that is not found in the *Voyage* and that was obviously gathered by Ulloa during his service as a colonial official from 1757 to 1768.⁷⁶ The *Voyage*, moreover, is primarily a narrative account written for the purpose of advertising the part taken by Spain in the important scientific expedition of 1735-1744; whereas the *Noticias Americanas* is almost wholly descriptive and expository, and its declared purpose was to contribute to the progress of mankind by making an addition to man's store of systematic knowledge.

In view of the character of the book and of the fact that Spain's policy of shrouding the Indies in secrecy had already been abandoned with the publication of the *Voyage* a quarter of a century earlier, it is not surprising that permission to publish was given quickly and without hesitation. Ulloa submitted the manuscript to Arriaga who on April 3, 1772, sent it to the Consejo de Indias for action. Within three months after the *fiscal* of the Consejo received it he submitted a favorable report, and the book was published the same year. Again Ulloa was regarded as the champion of Spain in the intellectual lists of Europe, for the *fiscal* declared in his report that Ulloa had already given "repeated proofs of his erudition and critical discernment", and that this new book would save Spain from the common reproach among foreigners to the effect that, since the discovery and conquest of the Indies, it had never taken the trouble to inform the rest of the world

⁷⁵ It is so confused by A. Curtis Wilgus in *The Histories of Hispanic America* (Washington, 1932), p. 32, in a passage that contains other errors as well.

⁷⁶ The *Voyage* contains nothing about Louisiana and Florida and only one page about Huancavélica (ed. 1765, II, 103, 104); the *Noticias Americanas* devotes ten pages to Huancavélica (ed. 1792, pp. 223-232), and information about Louisiana and Florida is scattered through the book.

about "the rare and precious things that they [the Indies] contain".⁷⁷ This book did not share the popularity abroad of the *Voyage*, but it was translated into French and German⁷⁸ and a second Spanish edition was published in 1792.

Ulloa was less fortunate with a survey of the navies of Europe that he submitted to Arriaga in 1773. He began writing it in 1755, was interrupted by his appointments to Huan-cavélica and Louisiana, and at last completed it toward the end of 1772. This time the *fiscal's* report was adverse. He criticised Ulloa's style on the ground that he used too many Gallicisms—a complaint that Spanish critics have frequently made against the writings of their compatriots. He dismissed as worthy of a philosopher rather than of a practical politician Ulloa's suggestion that, for the sake of economy, the European powers should reduce their navies to one-tenth of their existing strength; and he said he doubted whether the departments of foreign affairs and the navy would consent to the publication of the book. The latter consideration was probably decisive, although Ulloa declared that his manuscript did not contain any information about the Spanish navy that was not already in the possession of foreigners. The license was not granted and the treatise was never published.⁷⁹

Ulloa continued in active service to the end of his days—at the time of his death he was chief of operations of the navy⁸⁰—but in the last twenty years of his life he did not

⁷⁷ AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 1656, *expediente* on Ulloa's application for permission to print the *Noticias Americanas*.

⁷⁸ Sempere, VI. 173, says an abridged English version also was published, but this is probably an error. Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispano-americano* (Barcelona, 1923-1927), VII. 83, lists a German translation published in 1781 and a French translation published in 1787, but no English translation or abridgement. See also Townsend (cited below, note 84), II. 441.

⁷⁹ Archivo General de Simancas, Marina, leg. 715, *expediente* on Ulloa's request for permission to print the treatise. The *expediente* contains the manuscript of the treatise together with various relevant documents. The treatise, consisting of 314 folios, is entitled "La Marina. Fuerzas Navales de la Europa y costas de Berberia" etc. It has sometimes been stated, erroneously of course, that the treatise was published.

⁸⁰ Navarrete, I. 201. He was also *teniente general de la armada*, or vice admiral.

write anything of importance.⁸¹ He was growing old; perhaps he was deeply discouraged over the rejection of his treatise on the navies of Europe; and perhaps his official duties and his growing family, to which he was devoted, left him no time for writing.

We know little about his private life. It appears that he was entirely dependent upon his salary save for his wife's dowry, which was probably not large.⁸² This may explain why, although his interests were scientific and literary, he devoted so much of his time to writing government reports, surveys, and similar documents, which might be expected to win him promotion and an increase in salary. His wife was Francisca Ramírez de Laredo, daughter of the Conde de San Javier of Lima. The marriage took place in Louisiana early in 1767.⁸³ They had nine children, the first four of whom were born within a period of seven years. One of his sons, Francisco Javier de Ulloa, subsequently rose to the rank of admiral and was twice secretary of the navy.

A delightful sketch of his life at home was drawn by the English traveler, clergyman, and dabbler in science, Joseph Townsend,⁸⁴ who visited him at Cadiz when he was some

⁸¹ A report of his observations of a solar eclipse in 1778 was communicated to the Royal Society of London (see above, note 28), and was also published at Madrid; and in 1795 he published at Madrid his *Conversaciones de Ulloa con sus tres hijos en servicio de la Marina*, which consists of practical information about navigation, scurvy, etc.

⁸² Gayarré (cited in the following note) says that Ulloa's wife was wealthy; but this is very doubtful. Townsend (quoted below in the text) found him living in apparently straitened circumstances in 1787; and the *expediente* cited above, note 79, contains a representation by Ulloa (undated, but written after the beginning of 1774) in which he complains that his salary is inadequate to the needs of his growing family and that he has had to use part of his wife's dowry to maintain his family in decent style.

⁸³ Gayarré (ed. 1852), II. 177, 183, 184. Gayarré calls her the Marchioness of Abrado, but I have preferred to follow Navarrete (I. 200) and Travieso (*loc. cit.*, V. 703) on this point.

⁸⁴ Joseph Townsend, *A Journey through Spain in the Years 1786 and 1787* (London, 1792), II. 440-441. The *Dictionary of National Biography* has an article on Townsend.

seventy years of age. "I found him perfectly the philosopher," says Townsend,

sensible and well informed, lively in his conversation, free and easy in his manners, Having observed at his door two soldiers mounting guard, I expected some pride of appearance, but I met with nothing like it. This great man, diminutive in stature, remarkably thin and bowed down with age, clad like a peasant . . . was sitting to receive morning visitors, in a room, the dimensions and furniture of which, for a few moments, diverted my attention from himself, the chief object of veneration. The room was twenty feet long by fourteen wide, and less than eight feet high. In this I saw dispersed confusedly, chairs, tables, trunks, boxes, books, and papers, a bed, a press, umbrellas, clothes, carpenters tools, mathematical instruments, a barometer, a clock, guns, pictures, looking-glasses, fossils, minerals and shells, his kettle, basons, jugs, American antiquities, money. . . .

Surely not much money—rare coins, no doubt. Ulloa had neglected a golden opportunity to enrich himself in Peru, and if his wife ever possessed a great fortune it was gone now. His treasures were the fossils—"he shewed me a variety of seashells, collected by himself near the summits of the highest mountains in America"—the books, the antiquities, the mathematical instruments, that reminded him of a life well spent in the pursuit of knowledge. But he looked forward as well as back. A true philosopher in the eighteenth-century meaning of the word, he knew the uses of posterity; and he was wrapped up in his own posterity. Townsend found him "surrounded by his children, with the youngest about two years old, playing on his knee"; and he noted that one of Ulloa's treasures, "a curious mummy from the Canary islands", had served as a plaything for the children, who had "amused themselves by drawing its teeth, and breaking off its limbs". Ulloa's last book was entitled *Conversations with his three Sons in the naval Service*.⁸⁵ It was published in 1795, and he died on July the fifth of the same year.⁸⁶

The foregoing account of Ulloa's public career suggests

⁸⁵ Cited above, note 81.

⁸⁶ Navarette, I. 201.

some of the limitations of the vaunted Bourbon renaissance in Spain, which was almost precisely coterminous with his life. It reveals the existence in three important spheres—the colonial administration, the court, and the navy department—of serious and long-standing defects which it was apparently impossible to correct even in that age of revival. The story of his sufferings in the purgatory of Huancavélica forms a melancholy footnote to the tale of iniquity told in his own *Noticias secretas*. His expulsion from Louisiana was clearly the result of the dilatoriness and ineptitude of the Spanish court; and yet his expulsion occurred almost a decade after the accession of Charles III., whose reign is generally regarded as marking the flood-tide of the Bourbon renaissance. Though his failure in his cruise to the Azores in 1779 was due in part to foul weather—the “wind and waves” of which Philip II. so justly complained after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and which showed a strange persistence in destroying the best laid plans of Spain’s naval strategists—it was largely owing to the miserable condition of the ships with which he was forced to make the cruise; in other words, to the same inadequacy of preparation that, ever since the time of Philip II., had made it so much easier for wind and waves to do their work of destruction.

Ulloa’s writings form an important chapter in the history of another and a more edifying aspect of the Bourbon renaissance, the intellectual revival of the eighteenth century. His well written and widely read *Voyage to South America* provided Europeans with the first comprehensive and authoritative account of that region. The *Noticias secretas de América*, of which he was at least the joint and possibly the sole author, probably stimulated the reform movement already in progress at the Spanish court and is still one of the principal sources of information about Spanish America in the later colonial period. His *Noticias Americanas* is important not only because of the quaint and curious lore that it contains, but also because of the emphasis that the author places upon

the value of a comparative study of cultures. And finally, following Menéndez y Pelayo,⁸⁷ we may note that Ulloa belonged to the small and select group of practical scientists who brought about a notable revival of scientific studies in Spain. Among other things, he established the first museum of natural history in Madrid, and the first metallurgical laboratory; he brought from London to Spain the first scientific information about electricity and magnetism—information that he doubtless obtained from his friend William Watson; and Abbé Raynal rightly credits him with having given Europe its first knowledge of platinum.⁸⁸

His mind was neither bold nor original and, though he was a reformer, he was by no means a revolutionist. He believed in progress through enlightenment but he also believed that that progress would have to be gradual and very slow; and, unwaveringly loyal to king, church, and country, he was convinced that there was ample room for the process within the limits of the established order. It is significant that many of his friends and admirers were Jesuits and that he accorded the order sympathetic treatment in his books. It is also significant that, after discussing the problem of the development of different forms of plant and animal life from a common origin, he concluded that the problem was insoluble and that these developments were merely another evidence of the workings of an inscrutable providence.⁸⁹ Here was no Lamarck or Darwin in the making.

Ulloa's liking for the Jesuits did not prevent him from finding people of a very different sort congenial. He was as much at home in the secular atmosphere of London and Paris

⁸⁷ Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de Crítica literaria*, Cuarta serie (Madrid, 1907), pp. 340-341.

⁸⁸ Abbé Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements*, etc. (Geneva, 1781), IV. 124. See Manjarrés, cited above, note 2. Sempere, VI. 174-175, gives the best account of Ulloa's scientific activities, and recent writers, including Ballesteros (VI. 342), quite properly follow Sempere very closely. See also Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *Don Cenón de Somodevilla, Marqués de la Ensenada* (Madrid, 1878), pp. 357-359.

⁸⁹ *Noticias Americanas* (ed. 1792); "Introducción."

as in the ecclesiastical atmosphere of Madrid; and, we may add, he was much more at home in all of those places than in America, which he found a fascinating subject for inquiry and speculation but not a desirable place of residence. He succeeded in doing something that only the rarer spirits can do, for, though he borrowed freely from abroad, he never lost his native character. Without ceasing to be a Spaniard, he became a cultured European; and that was no mean achievement for a Spaniard of his generation.

Aside from the translation of his books into several languages, there are other evidences of the recognition that he won outside of Spain. In 1747, the year before the *Voyage to South America* was published, Voltaire spoke of Spain as a country that had hardly any heroes and not a single writer. By the time he published his *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (1764) he knew that Spain had at least one writer, for he cited the *Voyage* and referred to its author as "le philosophe militaire Ulloa". In another work, published four years later, he again referred to Ulloa, this time as "si célèbre par les services qu'il a rendus à la physique, et par l'Histoire philosophique de ses voyages".⁹⁰ A very different sort of person from Voltaire, but one who shared Voltaire's enthusiasm for enlightenment, also used the word "philosopher" in referring to Ulloa, who was to him an "object of veneration". That person was, of course, Joseph Townsend, whom we have just quoted. And several learned bodies—among them the academies of Stockholm and Berlin, as well as the Royal Society of London—honored Ulloa and themselves by electing him to membership.

⁹⁰ *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* (nouvelle édition, Paris, 1877-1885), XVIII. 148; XXVII. 183. It should be added that the latter passage contains a disparaging comment on two statements made by Ulloa. I have not found any evidence that Ulloa ever met Voltaire. Ulloa's name was still remembered in England more than three-quarters of a century after the publication of the *Voyage to South America* and thirty years after his death. Reviewing his *Noticias secretas* in the *London Quarterly Review* for March, 1827, the writer said, "Every one who has read Ulloa's *Voyage*—and who is here that has not?—will be glad to see another work from his pen. . . ." (XXXV. 321).

Ulloa's writings breathe the spirit of didacticism that was characteristic of the literature of western Europe in that age; but his was a gentle didacticism. A fisher of minds, not of souls, he baited the hook of instruction with entertainment. The subtitle of his *Noticias Americanas* contains the word *entretenimientos*—entertainments, amusements—and he called the subdivisions of the book not chapters but *entretenimientos*. His avowed purpose, which was the same as that of many of his contemporaries in other lands, was to instruct by amusing.

He also shared the humanitarian zeal that was beginning to spread over Europe. In this respect, however, he showed himself not so much a cosmopolite as a follower of one of the best traditions of his native land; for his humanitarianism, like that of the sixteenth-century Bartolomé de las Casas, from which it stems, found its chief expression in an effort to ameliorate the wretched lot of the Indians of Spanish America. Though he might well have saved some of his sympathy for the downtrodden masses of his fellow-countrymen, we must do him the justice to repeat that the circumstances of his life fixed his attention, and kept it fixed, upon Spanish America rather than upon Spain itself.

There were large realms of ideas as well as whole physical continents that lay beyond the margin of his speculations; but within these limits, and in his own way, he did valiant service in the cause of justice and enlightenment. If some new Par-rington should write a history of main currents in Spanish thought, Ulloa would surely occupy an honorable place in it.

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THE CONQUEST OF THE DESERT

Although North American students of Hispanic American history usually understand the conquest of the desert to mean the driving back of the hostile Indians from the Buenos Aires frontier to the Río Negro in 1879-1880 by General Julio A. Rica, they have little opportunity from books published in English for learning further details of this significant event in the history of Argentina. There is, however, a wealth of information in Spanish on this phase of history in books published by Argentine and other historians.¹

The so-called desert in Argentina is not a desert at all, but a fertile region of vast pampas, naturally arid due to insufficient rainfall, but capable of irrigation from three important rivers which flow through it—the Negro, the Colorado, and the Salado—and from other lesser rivers. Since the conquest, irrigation has actually been put into effect, and now this region is one of the richest pastoral and grain raising areas in the world. The so-called desert extended from the northern boundary of Patagonia (the Río Negro) and the Chilean boundary, to the southern and western frontiers of the Argentine provinces of Mendoza, San Luís, Córdoba, Santa Fé, and Buenos Aires. Its area of 20,000 square leagues stretched across South America from the Andes to the Atlantic. At the present time it comprises the Argentine territories of La Pampa, Neuquén, and Río Negro. The character of this country, as seen by eyewitnesses who took part in the conquest, is well described by Colonel Olascoaga and the official reports of other officers which he includes in his

¹ Many of these books may be consulted in the Library of Congress. Although those cited in this article are by no means all the works bearing on this subject in the above mentioned library, they show the importance assigned to it by Argentine writers and the abundant resources of the Library of Congress both in primary and secondary material relating to it.

topographic study.² Colonel Mansilla, who made an excursion into the very heart of the Indian country prior to the conquest, published a book in 1870 which, in spite of its diffuseness, is full of interesting details,³ as is also the description in English by Charles Darwin in his *Voyage of the Beagle*.⁴ The earliest authentic account⁵ was published in 1774 by a Jesuit missionary, Thomas Falkner, who spent forty years of his life working among the Indians. The first exploration and map of the Río Negro, however, was made by Basilio Villarino in 1782. A hundred years later, the Argentine government sent Francisco P. Moreno to explore Patagonia. His *Viaje a la Patagonia Austral, emprendido bajo los Auspicios del Gobierno Nacional, 1876-1877* (Buenos Aires, 1879), includes a description of the southwestern part of the desert where it borders on the region called Patagonia.

These accounts also give descriptions of the inhabitants of the desert, the so-called Pampas and Patagonian Indians. As has been said, Falkner actually lived with the Indians for forty years. Moreno studied their customs. Darwin refers repeatedly to the habits of the Indians whom he encountered from time to time during his visit to the coast of Patagonia in 1839, and Colonel Mansilla, in 1870, with an escort of only a few men, rode into the country of the Ranqueles Indians and lived with their caciques, Mariano Rosas and Baigorrita, on terms of utmost friendliness and brotherhood. Three years later, Captain George Chaworth Musters gave in his *At Home with the Patagonians* (London, 1873) an account of "a year's wandering over untrodden ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Río Negro". The description of Indian life is con-

² Manuel J. Olascoaga, *Estudio Topográfico de la Pampa y Río Negro* (Buenos Aires, 1880); also in his *La Conquête de la Pampa* (Buenos Aires, 1881).

³ Lucio V. Mansilla, *Una Escurción a los Indios Ranqueles*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1870).

⁴ First published in London in 1839, under the title *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the various Countries visited by H. M. S. Beagle*, . . .

⁵ Thomas Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia and the adjacent Parts of South America* (London, 1774). The book has gone through various editions.

sidered especially accurate as to the Indians living south of the Río Negro, for Captain Musters lived with a tribe of such Indians during his wanderings. He points out certain differences between the Indians whom he knew and those who live north of the Río Negro, yet there is enough similarity between them for subsequent writers to quote Musters as an authority on Indian life and customs. In his *Rough Notes taken during some rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes* (London, 1846), Sir Francis B. Head gives frequent brief references to the Indians of the pampas. In 1863, Guillermo E. Cox tried to cross the southern Andes from Chile into Argentina but was wrecked in the rapids of the Limay River and had to seek the assistance of the Indians in order to return to Valdivia. His account,⁶ however, deals more with geography than with ethnology.⁷

The best secondary accounts (which may also be considered almost primary sources because written by contemporaries) are by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in his *Facundo*⁸ and by Sir Woodbine Parish, British Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, in his *Buenos Aires and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata* (London, 1852). The map in the latter book gives an excellent idea of the Indian frontiers in 1850.⁹ The most recent secondary account is that of Dionisio Schoolastra, which rather thoroughly sums up much previous source material on the subject of the Indian of the desert,

⁶ Guillermo E. Cox, *Viaje en las Rejiones septentrionales de la Patagonia 1862-1863* (Santiago de Chile, 1880).

⁷ A quaint but not particularly valuable record is that by Isaac Morris, called *A Narrative of the Dangers and Distresses which befel Isaac Morris and seven more of the Crew belonging to the Wager Store-ship which attended Commodore Anson in his Voyage to the South Sea* (London, 1747).

⁸ *Facundo; ó Civilización i Barbarie en las Pampas Argentinas*, which has been published in many editions. Translated into English by Mrs. Horace Mann, under the title *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants; or, Civilization and Barbarism* (New York, 1868).

⁹ Less important and rather superficial travel accounts are those of Reverend Titus Coan (*Adventures in Patagonia. A Missionary's exploring Trip*, New York, 1880); Lady Florence Dixie (*Across Patagonia*, London, 1880); and W. O. Campbell (*Through Patagonia*, London, 1901).

namely, *El Indio del Desierto, 1535-1879* (Buenos Aires, 1928).

From these descriptions, it is clear that the Indians who roamed the pampas of Argentina from Patagonia to the frontiers of the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, Córdoba, San Luís, and Mendoza were branches of the great Araucanian tribe which lived in southern Chile. They were called indiscriminately Pampas Indians or Aucas (warriors) but could more scientifically be classified into numerous tribes. This classification is given by Falkner, who divides the Moluches, as he calls the Araucanians, into the Picunches, Pehuenches, and Huilches, or northern, middle, and southern branches. Those who crossed the mountains to live in Argentina were called generally the Puelches or eastern people, and the Tehuelches or southern people, who lived just south of the River Negro.¹⁰ These two main divisions—the Puelches and Tehuelches—are sufficient for our purpose in studying the Pampas Indians although further subdivision based on the map of Sir Woodbine Parish and the contemporary accounts of the writers of the mid-nineteenth century will be convenient. This map shows the Pehuenches (people of the pine trees) spread over the Argentine slopes of the Andes and the southern frontier of the Province of Mendoza; the Ranqueles (people of the thistles) occupying all the central pampas south of San Luís and Cordova, and the Puelches (eastern people) close to the southwestern frontier of Buenos Aires province.¹¹ The Huilches and Pehuelches (sometimes called Patagonians) who lived south of the Río Negro must be considered as differing in many respects from the more northerly tribes both in language and war-like proclivities. According to Captain Musters, this distinction must be carefully made. They lived farther from the white man's settlements and did not delight in fighting him or stealing his cattle. From time to time they took long journeys to the settlement of Patagones

¹⁰ Falkner, pp. 96-102.

¹¹ Parish, *ut supra*.

at the mouth of the Río Negro for the purpose of trading with the white colonist and getting drunk on his liquor. The Puelches who lived near the settlements in southern Buenos Aires province also tried to keep on good terms with the Christians for the purposes of trading and drawing the rations which the government promised them when they kept the peace.

The Ranqueles, however, seldom kept peace with the whites even after making a treaty. They were constantly on the warpath attacking settlements, murdering the men, burning the buildings, carrying the women and children into captivity, and driving off cattle and horses for sale to the Pehuenches and Araucanians on both sides of the Chilean border.

In general the customs of the Puelches and Pehuenches were much like those of the Ranqueles. While the first of these, like the Tehuelches, Huilches and other southern Indians, were willing to adopt a semi-settled mode of existence, the life of all the other Pampas Indians was essentially nomadic. They lived on horseback supporting themselves by hunting cattle, wild mares, ostriches, armadillos, hares, partridges, doves, and pumas (lions). They did not remain long enough in one place to reap a harvest, so the planting of corn or other grain was not worth the trouble. Their only food was meat eked out with roots and tubers dug from the ground, and apples and other fruits which grew wild on the trees planted long ago by the Jesuit missionaries.

The Indians moved their habitations with them from place to place as they followed their herds or changed their hunting grounds. These habitations were portable huts called *toldos* made of light poles lashed together covered with skins sewed and laced with leather thongs. The shape of the *toldo* was rectangular or oval, and not pyramidal like the tepee of the North American Indian. When several families traveled together, their *toldos* were set up in a group forming a *toldería*

or village. Over these *tolderías*, the father or clan leader ruled with power of life and death, settled disputes and held parliaments or councils with neighboring clan chieftains. There was no permanent tribal organization, although in time of war or hunting a number of clans would assemble and elect a cacique to direct their combined movements. The office of cacique, although elective, was generally limited to the sons and brothers of the former cacique. Thus it might be called hereditary, if the heir was competent to rule. If he were not respected and could not induce others to follow him, some braver and better equipped man would be elected. Among the caciques of the Ranqueles best known to their white enemies were Mariano and Epumer Rosas (godsons of Colonel León Ortiz de Rosas, father of General Juan Manuel de Rosas), Baigorrita, and Lincón. Whenever extensive raids and operations were undertaken against the Christians, nearly all the clans of Pampas Indians sent warriors to fight under a common cacique. Just prior to the campaign of the desert, this supreme chieftainship was generally held by Calfucurá or his son, Namuncurá, of the Puelches.

For fighting and hunting, the Indians were armed with lances, twelve to fifteen feet long tipped with metal, with bows and arrows, and with bolas.¹² For defensive weapons, leather shirts capable of deflecting the blow of a lance or arrow were worn, and leather-covered shields carried. Indian men wore a *chiripá* or breech-clout, a skin wrapped around the waist which could be pulled up over the shoulders, boots made from the skin of the legs of colts, wrapped around the foot and ankle without shaping or sewing. Sometimes straw hats bought from the Spaniards were used, but generally the Indians preferred to go bareheaded with a bead fillet around

¹² The latter weapon consisted of two or three round stones wrapped in leather and lashed together with thongs two yards long. One of these weights was held in the hand while the weapon was whirled about the head and then hurled at the enemy or the animal hunted. So great was the skill of the Indians in hurling the bolas that they could strike the head of their quarry with one of the stones or wrap the thongs about its neck or legs, no matter how fast it was running.

the forehead. The women dressed like the men except they wore instead of the chiripá a skirt reaching to the knee.¹³

All writers found the Indians kind to travelers, and generous and hospitable. At first they were inclined to be suspicious of white strangers, but when the latter had gained the confidence of their Indian hosts nothing was too good for them. Once a stranger was admitted to a toldo he might enjoy its hospitality as long as he wished, but he must be careful not to enter until invited the first time, nor even to dismount without permission of the Indians. Although accused of treachery by the whites, the Indians had a high standard of honor among themselves.¹⁴ On their part they mistrusted the word of a Christian and learned to practice treachery toward him only as a result of experience in dealing with the Spanish and Argentine authorities. Moreno says:

The traveler needs no arms while he lives in the humble toldo. He will not be attacked by the Indians even if they are drunk, nor even if he has offended them, until he has been duly tried.¹⁵

¹³ The women took care of their children and the toldos and did all the domestic work including the loading of the pack horses, while the men thought it beneath their dignity to do anything but hunt or fight. A man might have as many wives as he could buy, but as these were very expensive, few, excepting the richest caciques, had more than one. The raising of families by enslaved women captured from the white settlers or from other Indian tribes was common, and after the white captives overcame their first terror and became accustomed to the life, many of them refused to leave their Indian families when afforded a chance to do so. The religion of the Indians consisted in a belief in good and evil spirits. Since trouble, sickness, and death were brought about by evil spirits, most of the worship was devoted to a propitiation of the latter. Wizards and old women, believed to possess the power to drive away evil spirits, exerted great influence in determining the conduct of the Indians, often giving advice or orders contrary to those given by the cacique. It was believed that the spirits of the dead went to dwell below the earth in the abodes of the good or the evil spirits in accordance with their deserts. To support departed souls on this journey, their horses were killed, stuffed and placed around their graves; and food, clothing, and utensils were buried with them. The highest bliss to be attained after death in the abode of the spirit of good, was an opportunity to be eternally drunk. Drunkenness, indeed, was the besetting sin of all the Indians, both men and women. They made their own *chicha*, a highly intoxicating kind of cider and traded furs and ostrich feathers with the settlers for Spanish *aguardiente*.

¹⁴ Mansilla, II. 424.

¹⁵ *Viaje a la Patagonia Austral*, 1876-1877, I. 9.

Physically, the Indians are described as having well built bodies with broad shoulders and strong limbs, sloping foreheads, high cheekbones, short flat noses, large mouths, thick lips, coarse black hair thick on the head and thin on the face. Their sight and hearing is far keener than that of the average white man.¹⁶

Musters says of the Tehuelche Indians:

They certainly do not deserve the epithets of ferocious savages, brigands of the desert, etc. They are kindly, good tempered, impulsive children of nature, taking great likes or dislikes, becoming firm friends or equally confirmed enemies. They are very naturally suspicious of strangers, but especially those of Spanish origin, or as they term them "Christianos". Nor considering the treatment, treacherous cruelty and knavish robbery, experienced by them at the hands of the invaders and colonists alternately, is this to be wondered at. . . . In my dealings with them, I was always treated with fairness and consideration. . . . With regard to truthfulness my experience was as follows. In minor affairs they nearly always lie, and will invent stories for sheer amusement. . . . In anything of importance however, such as guaranteeing the safety of a person, they are very truthful, as long as faith is kept with them.¹⁷

As to the numbers of Indians existing during the mid-nineteenth century we have fairly accurate information. Colonel Mansilla estimates that among the Ranqueles there were four to six hundred toldos and that each toldo housed at least ten people and often as many as thirty. In addition to the three caciques, Mariano Rosas, Baigarrota, and Ramón, there were two lesser captains, Epumer Rosas and Yanquetruz, and seventy subordinate chieftains. Hence, since each leader and chieftain had an immediate following of from ten to thirty warriors, there would be in all, Mansilla estimates, 1,300 warriors¹⁸—probably a conservative estimate. Saldías says: "We must be ashamed to admit that at times 8,000 soldiers

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 9.

¹⁷ Musters, p. 185.

¹⁸ Mansilla, II. 420-422.

were needed to deal with 2,000 lancers" [warriors].¹⁹ Colonel Alvaro Barros notes that 2,000 warriors followed a chieftain named Renque Curá and that they continued their attacks on the whites in spite of the orders to the contrary issued by the peaceful cacique, Calfucurá. He reports also a conference with 1500 warriors on the southern frontier of Buenos Aires province, and the presence of a thousand friendly Indians within his own command.²⁰ Vedia gives the maximum number of warriors under Baigorrita, Namuncura and Pincen as 3,500 scattered over an area of 2000 square leagues.²¹ It may, therefore, safely be said that there were not over 4,000 warriors to be contended with and that the total population of Pampas Indians in the regions north of the Río Negro was approximately 12,000.²²

For an attack on the frontier, several leaders would generally combine, bringing into operation a force of from three to five hundred warriors. A general campaign might involve several such groups, but seldom more than eight hundred were reported to have taken part in any one action. The Indian owed his success to the celerity of his movements. The chieftains would gather with their followers at a designated rendezvous on some night when the moon was past the full. When assembled, they would gallop rapidly in loose formation, all scattered widely over the plains until they reached the settlement which was their objective. Between midnight and dawn they would make the attack, taking the defenders by surprise. Their object was to kill any men who resisted, capture the women and children, burn the buildings, and round up the cattle and horses. The entire operation lasted but a short time. While one party was fighting the men, another would

¹⁹ Adolfo Saldías, *Historia de la Confederación Argentina*, 9 vols. (Buenos Aires, [1929?], III. (*Rozas y las Facultades extraordinarias*), 65.

²⁰ Alvaro Barros, *Fronteros y Territorios federales de las Pampas del Sud* (Buenos Aires, 1872), pp. 154, 172, 177.

²¹ Mariano de Vedia y Mitre, *Roca* (Paris, 1928), p. 43.

²² These included 600 to 800 Christian captives, for each toldo contained at least one such captive (Mansilla, *op. cit.*, p. 420).

be securing their captives, and a third driving off the stock. Before the battle was over, women and children would be far away on the road toward the toldos in which they were to pass their slavery. Having killed all the defenders and driven off the cattle, the Indians would scatter to the tolderias of their respective chieftains. When troops from the nearest garrison arrived at the scene of the attack, they would find only the smoking remains of the settlers' homes and the bodies of the slain.²³ The Indians had disappeared.²⁴

Only when large forces of troops were sent out to scout the desert in combined operations were they successful against the tactics of the Indians. Then the superiority of their firearms over the lances and bows and arrows of the Indians²⁵ enabled them to overcome the warriors, capture the women and children, destroy the toldos, and rescue the Christian captives and stolen cattle. Vengeance was taken for the destruction of the white settlements by wiping out entire tolderias of the Indians.²⁶

So vague was the authority of the caciques over the clans which accepted their leadership in war that in time of peace they did not attempt always to enforce obedience. When any of the clans desired to steal cattle or to attack a settlement they were at perfect liberty to do so under the leadership of their own chieftains without asking for the consent of the cacique. This led to constant friction and misunderstanding between whites and Indians. The former felt that when they had bribed a cacique to make peace, they were entitled to protection from attack, but the cacique's idea was that he had promised not to order war or to lead an attack, but that if the warriors who would normally follow him in battle started an

²³ In none of the accounts read, is there any mention of scalping the dead.

²⁴ Schoo Lastra, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

²⁵ Estanislao S. Zeballos, *La Conquista de Quince Mil Leguas. Estudio sobre la Traslacion de la Frontera Sud de la República al Río Negro* (Buenos Aires, 1878), p. 240, says that the Tuelches of the north had only one firearm for every four men.

²⁶ Schoo Lastra, p. 313.

incursion of their own, he could not be expected to stop them. Because the whites did not understand the Indian system of tribal government, they accused the latter of treachery.

On the other hand, the naturally peaceful Indians preferred to carry on their hunting, cattle driving, or salt gathering undisturbed. They, on their part, could not understand, after they had made a treaty with a government fixing a certain line as frontier, why settlers continued to migrate beyond that frontier and plant fields inside their hunting grounds. They could not appreciate the inability of a government to prevent its citizens from moving about and building their homes where they chose. Accordingly, when settlers crossed the frontiers established by treaty and drove away their game, the Indians accused the whites of treachery. Unfortunately, it is also true that the whites did not keep other promises which they had made in these treaties, especially that of providing rations for the Indians. The supposed and actual faithlessness of the whites, repeatedly experienced, goaded the Indians to retaliation. Since the promised rations frequently were not forthcoming, the Indians had to resort to cattle stealing, and this generally led to their going on the warpath. Juan José Biedma in his *Crónica histórica del Río Negro* (Buenos Aires, 1905), and Alberto J. Grassi in his *La Pampa y sus Derechos* (2d ed., Buenos Aires, 1929), show that the whites were more to blame than the Indians for the constant border warfare.

The treaties often provided that each cacique and chieftain was to receive at regular intervals a certain number of cattle or rations for the support of his followers. The provincial government, however, was accustomed to entrust the fulfillment of this promise to contractors. As might be expected, the object of the contractors in bidding for the contract was to make as much profit out of it as possible. Lean and worthless cattle were furnished in quantity less than stipulated and notes were given for the balance due. These notes were then discounted by the contractors or paid in other merchandise at

exorbitant prices. Sometimes a contractor would weigh out 300 pounds of *yerba maté* and charge it as a ration of 700 pounds. When the poor, bewildered Indians were so impoverished as to be forced to sell the cattle back to the contractors at much less than their original value, the contractors would reissue these same cattle as part of the next periodical consignment.²⁷ Thus the contractors won and the Indians lost on every deal. Agents were appointed by the government to protect the interest of the Indians, but instead of giving justice, these agents frequently connived at and even aided the contractors in extorting their illicit profits. Reports of similar connivance between corrupt Indian agents and contractors and of similar mistreatment of the Indians were not unknown in the history of the relations of the United States government and its Indian wards. In Argentina as in the United States, army officers were frequently the only ones who saw to the honest enforcement of treaties with the Indians, although in both cases, there were instances of dishonesty among the army officers as well. Colonel Alvaro Barros, who was for some years commanding officer of the southern frontier, describes many cases of army officers, civilian agents, and contractors who used their authority and position to rob and mistreat the Indians. Although his own duty was to fight the Indians when they were hostile, he found them essentially tractable and willing to meet the whites half way. He had no trouble in securing their friendship and loyalty, when they learned that he would treat them justly. He says

The perfidy of the Indians is the result of our own teaching. . . . When the Indians are treated with equity and justice, they obey our laws and authorities. If we should put in practice the simple laws of justice between nations, we would reap the benefits of peace and friendship.²⁸

²⁷ Barros, p. 124.

²⁸ Barros, p. 215. The same author says also (p. 178): "Unfortunately, since the earliest times of the conquest, the Indians have frequently been victims of the injustice and cupidity of the official entrusted with effecting an understanding with them. Yet, in spite of this, how easily they have forgotten the black

Colonel Barros himself suffered for his fairness in dealing with the Indians, for disgruntled contractors made charges against him until he was relieved from command. While his book²⁹ is primarily a justification of his treatment of the Indian, it is full of illuminating details and quoted documents, which justify the Indians for their attacks on the frontier and explain the inability of the troops to protect the settlers.

The history of the first three quarters of the nineteenth century was one of making and breaking of treaties with the Indians; of the latter taking matters into their own hands and stealing the cattle which should have been furnished them by the government; of attacks on, and destruction of, *tolderías* by government troops; and of retaliatory attacks by the Indians on the white colonists, resulting in the burning of the homes of the latter, the killing of their men, and the carrying into captivity of their women and children. The Indians of the pampas accepted peace when offered and returned to war only to obtain means of subsistence. They seldom sought an open fight, but preferred to make a surprise attack, to set fire to the grass, to carry off cattle, to burn the cabins, to kill and to run away. Thus they kept the small frontier force busy dashing from place to place after them only to find them appearing somewhere else.³⁰ From the time that Argentina gained its independence until after the middle of the nineteenth century, internal discord was so incessant that most of the army was busy fighting civil wars and the troops assigned to the protection of the frontier were too few to accomplish their purpose. The Indians were able to attack wherever they chose and to escape; and throughout this period they were able to keep the whole southern and western frontier in confusion and alarm.

In retaliation for the attacks made by the Indians on the

treachery received from us, who should give them justice and consider them part of humanity.''

²⁹ See *ante*, note 20.

³⁰ Barros, pp. 95, 145; Biedma, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

frontier garrisons, punitive expeditions were from time to time sent into the Indian country by the authorities of Buenos Aires province, General Martín Rodríguez being the most active governor in this respect. In 1860, he compelled the surrender of the Indians at Miraflores and led many of their chiefs away into captivity, but was unable to enforce the provisions of the treaty, whereby fair treatment had been promised.

In 1823, General Rodríguez himself, with a force of 250 men and seven guns, established a line of frontier forts from the Sierras del Volcán and Tandil to Laguna Blanca Grande, but was not able to suppress the disturbed conditions among the Indians. In 1825, Colonel Rauch, with 700 men, marched rapidly toward the Sierra de la Vantana where he made a great slaughter and returned with a number of captured families and cattle. In 1828, General José Félix Aldao had bloody but indecisive encounters with the Aucas along the frontiers of Mendoza and, in 1830, Colonel Angel Pacheco succeeded in penetrating into the Indian country as far as the Río Salado.³¹ Colonel Rauch continued his activities by destroying Indian villages and driving the Indians out of the sierras to Salinas Grandes; but after his death the Indians returned, owing to the neglect of the frontiers because of civil war.³²

Under such conditions the settlers had to take care of themselves. One of these, a wealthy *estanciero* of southern Buenos Aires province, Juan Manuel de Rosas, by name, constantly urged on Governor Rodríguez a plan for the defense of the frontier consisting in a general offensive against the Indians of the desert in coöperation with the government of

³¹ Carlos M. Urien and Ezio Colombo, *Geografía Argentina* (Buenos Aires), p. 607.

³² Barros, pp. 155-157. As an evidence of the inefficiency of the frontier guard, Colonel Barros, commanding general of the southern frontier, reported (*ibid.*, p. 209) that out of the 317 effectives under his command 291 were on detached service, sick, in arrest, or otherwise unfit for duty leaving only twenty-six men ready to march. The garrisons at Forts Independence and Republic consisted of no more than fourteen men in all.

Chile. At a conference at his *estancia* of San Martín, Rosas made a peace treaty with the friendly caciques, Cachul, Catriel, Venancio, and Llanquelen and even secured their promise to help him against the other Indians. He arranged for coöperation from the governors of the other frontier provinces but could not obtain from his own province any assistance beyond authorization to go ahead on his own initiative. No funds were appropriated to carry out his plans and no troops were sent to reënforce him. He enlisted his own *estancia* workers and such other gauchos as would join his personal militia, and obtained contributions of money and supplies from his friends. Thus the campaign of the south in 1833 was carried out at the energy and expense of Rosas himself.³³

The troops were organized in three divisions. The right, under General Aldao, from Mendoza was to operate in the Andean region following the Diamante and Atuel rivers southward to their confluence with the Neuquén where he was to effect a junction with Rosas. The central division, under Ruiz Huidobro, was to march southward from Cordoba dislodging the Indians from the central Pampas. The left, under Rosas himself, was to operate south over the pampas to the Colorado River and thence southwestward to the Negro, swinging to the westward in order to effect a junction with the right and center divisions.

When Rosas became governor of Buenos Aires province, he negotiated with, and secured promises of, coöperation from the government of Chile and from Juan Facundo Quiroga, "tiger of the Pampas" and dictator of the northern provinces. General Quiroga was to be commander-in-chief and to coördinate the whole campaign, but he was busy with his own affairs, was jealous of Rosas, and soon resigned alleging that he knew nothing about Indian fighting. This left Rosas the actual commander-in-chief.

³³ Saldías, III, 33. The Minister of War informed Rosas that he could not call on the government either for clothing, munitions, rations, horses, or even for his own salary as general.

Adolfo Saldías³⁴ gives such a full account of this campaign of the south³⁵ that it will suffice here to say that both the right and center columns failed to carry out their missions, but that Rosas with the left column advanced as far as the Colorado River driving the Indians before him, established his headquarters there,³⁶ and sent General Pacheco to scout the whole length of the Río Negro to such point in the mountains as the advance of the right column might have reached. As has been said, the column of the right failed to make this contact, but General Pacheco established a fort on the island of Choele-Choel and reached the junction of the Neuquén and Limay rivers fighting the Indians as he followed up the Río Negro.

This campaign of Rosas may be said to have been successful, for the Indians had been driven back from the old frontiers into the Andean border of Chile and across the Río Negro. Block houses and garrisons had been established at Choele-Choel and other strategic positions on the Negro and Colorado rivers. Then the remainder of the troops were mustered out.

Most of the garrisons which Rosas had established were maintained more or less efficiently until about 1852, but the Araucanian Indians of Chile joined with the Ranqueles who had fled before the divisions of Aldao and Huidobro and had escaped into the mountains, had returned to the central Pampas where the Ranqueles had formerly pitched their toldos. Soon the Indians were as strong as ever, raiding settlements, driving off cattle, and capturing women and children, and conditions on the frontier were as bad as they were before the campaign of Rosas.³⁷ Rosas himself became dictator and was

³⁴ Chaps. XXI-XXII.

³⁵ Zaballós and Biedma also give good descriptions of this campaign.

³⁶ Darwin who visited this camp of Rosas says that the soldiers were nearly all cavalry and a most villainous looking lot. He believed that such a "banditti-like army was never before collected together". (Darwin, *op. cit.*, III. 85.)

³⁷ E. Vera y González, *Historia de la República Argentina desde el Gobierno del General Viamont hasta nuestros días* (Buenos Aires, 1926), III. 265-266.

too busily engaged in fighting the governors of the other provinces, and his enemies, the Unitarians, to be able to devote any attention to the Indian frontier. Whatever peace and security the frontier enjoyed during his rule was because of promises which Rosas made to the Indians and of presents which he gave them. After 1852, most of the garrisons were withdrawn and the Indians devastated the frontier provinces with impunity coming as far as Tandil in the south of Buenos Aires, to Saladillo in the west, and to Pergamino in the north.³⁸

Then came the Paraguayan War (1865-1870) necessitating the presence of every soldier in the north. The southern frontiers had necessarily to be neglected, although in the messages of every president of Argentina from Mitre to Avellaneda, the Indian question is mentioned. The first opportunity to consider this question, however, came under the last named president. His minister of war, Adolfo Alsina, proposed a plan of holding the frontier by means of fortified lines. These lines were to consist of blockhouses established at intervals, connected wherever possible by strong trenches and palisades, but elsewhere separated by the open desert.³⁹ From time to time these lines were to be pushed forward and reestablished afresh, so that new zones in the desert would be gained as the frontier was advanced. As the Indians were driven out of these zones, colonies of settlers were to be established there to develop the region gained. General Julio A. Roca, the commanding general of the frontier, opposed this plan of defensive campaign on the ground that it was ineffective and destroyed the discipline of the army. Troops shut up in small isolated forts soon became demoralized and even if they could hold their own posts, they could not possibly prevent in-

³⁸ Saldías, III, 63-64.

³⁹ A ditch one hundred leagues long, three yards wide, and twelve deep was actually begun but was left half finished (J. Power, *The Land we live in, History of the Argentine Republic from the Landing of Solís until the present Day* (Buenos Aires, 1891), p. 106; Vedia, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

cursions of the Indians through the open desert between the forts.⁴⁰

Roca told the minister of war that "the best system of overcoming the Indians is to extinguish them and drive them beyond the Río Negro by an offensive like that followed by Rosas."⁴¹ Basically he agreed with the minister of war that the frontier should be advanced, but instead of advancing it gradually by zones, it should be pushed forward all at once to the Río Negro. Although still adhering to his own plan, the minister of war accepted Roca's advice so far as it involved the taking of the aggressive against the Indians. In 1875, Catriel was defeated and forced to sign a treaty, but before the year was out, he had broken the treaty and had persuaded Caciques Namuncurá, Pincen, Baigorrita, and their tribes to revolt with him. An expedition consisting of two divisions was sent out against them and had some minor successes. In 1876, thanks to 3,000,000 pesos advanced by the province of Buenos Aires, the frontier had been pushed forward to the furthest point of Carhué, Trenque-Lauquen, Puan, and Guaminí, where forts connected by trenches were built and colonists were settled under their protection. The minister of war went into the field and himself took command but found that it was more difficult than he had anticipated. The Indians avoided his columns and went on destroying the frontier settlements and terrifying their inhabitants. Alcina could not stand the hardships of the campaign and fell ill. During his last days in the hospital he became delirious and saw the Indians everywhere about him burning and killing. In November, 1877, he died in a delirium.⁴²

To succeed Alsina, President Avellaneda appointed Roca, the minister of war. At once there began a period of extraordinary activity in the army. The minister of war put himself in communication by telegraph with the generals and

⁴⁰ Vedia, pp. 39-41, 51; Vera y González, *op. cit.*, III. 266.

⁴¹ Saldías, III. 65.

⁴² Vera y González, pp. 268-269; Vedia, p. 42; Julian Rivera Campos, *Historia Argentina y Americana* (Lima, 1922), II. 765.

chiefs commanding forces in the field, and thereby coördinated operations against the Indians. He infused energy into the army by rewarding every case of valor or extraordinary efficiency which came to his notice. He ordered frequent attacks on the Indian *tolderías* and the establishment of new forts. He proclaimed that henceforth the purposes of his expeditions should be those of punishing, liberating, and colonizing. He proposed a plan of campaign for conquering the territory as far as the Río Negro in two years. The first year would be devoted to gathering supplies, horses, and equipment at two depots such as Sarmiento and Villa Mercedes. He would send out one thousand men at a time for periods of twenty days to a month to scour the country and attack the Indian villages. At the end of each period a fresh detachment of a thousand would be despatched to replace the first detail. Since the *Ranqueles* were so few, they would not be able to stand this kind of fighting for more than six months. They would emigrate to the Neuquén and Limay rivers in the cordillera or to the other side of the Río Negro or else would submit to the conditions imposed and would surrender. After that two thousand men would be enough to police the land of the *Ranqueles* and to stop further immigration of *Araucanians*.⁴³ The first year was for preparation, the second for execution. After the second year 4,500 men would be sufficient to hold the Río Negro frontier with a garrison on Choele-Choel to maintain communication between Carmen del Patagones and the cordilleras. Fifteen hundred to two thousand men, he believed would be enough to seize the line of the Río Negro.⁴⁴

Roca explained his plan to a committee of six deputies which was appointed by the chamber of deputies to consider it. General Mitre in the chamber of deputies and Sarmiento in the senate introduced a bill favoring his plan. Thus the first three constitutional presidents of the republic, Mitre,

⁴³ Augusto Marco del Pont, *Roca y su Tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1931), 124-126.

⁴⁴ Vedia y Mitre, pp. 42, 45-46.

Sarmiento, and Avellaneda supported Roca. Senator Torrent from Corrientes opposed him, claiming that the administration lacked a consistent policy. To this, Roca replied that his plan was a consistent continuation of that of his predecessor and that the work of Alsina in extending the frontier zones to Carhué and Guaminí had aided him and would save expense in the completion of his plan to go to the Río Negro. At last, after much debate, congress accepted Roca's plan and passed a law for securing the liberation of the desert.⁴⁵

Under this authority, Roca continued his preparations, issued his orders for the campaign, and assembled a large and efficient staff. This staff consisted not only of the generals, field officers, and aides usually attached to a headquarters staff and to the service of supply, but of many civilian technical men, experts, and specialists as well. There were skilled engineers, naturalists, and explorers whose function was to study, map, and report upon all natural features and resources of the country to be conquered and opened to settlement and civilization.⁴⁶

The second phase of the plan began on the morning of April 6, 1879, when General Roca with his staff, accompanied by missionaries and newspaper correspondents, left Buenos Aires for Azul on a special train.⁴⁷ According to the plan of

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55; Rivera Campos, *op. cit.* II. 765. Even after this authority was granted, there were many obstacles and objections to putting the plan into effect: the preliminary campaign was not yet ended; the winter season was too near; it would be imprudent to start without adequate transportation; 5000 men were too costly; perhaps it would be better for the infantry and artillery to go by water; and the final dispositions had not yet been well thought out (Vedia, p. 57).

⁴⁶ See *ante*, note 2. Roca's chief of staff was Colonel Manuel J. Olascoaga whose two books (see note 2), have been used as a basis for this account of the campaign. Having been written by the one man in the army who was in the best position to know all that was going on, and containing, as they do, complete reports of most of the subordinate commanders, these books may be considered as the best source material on the conquest of the desert. The maps included in these volumes are extremely useful in following the routes of all the five divisions of the army.

⁴⁷ Vedia y Mitre, p. 70; Marco del Pont, p. 173.

campaign, the expedition was to consist of five divisions which were to traverse the desert between the frontier, the Río Negro, and the Andes southward and westward by different routes, coöperating with each other in order to surround and capture all Indians encountered on their march. Orders prescribed as follows:

1. The 1st Division under General Roca himself with troops from Trenque Lauquen and Puan was to advance rapidly directly toward the island of Choele-Choele in the Río Negro.

2. The 2nd Division under Colonel Levalle was to march from Carhué to Chadi Leuvú detaching parties to connect with Colonels Godoy and Racedo on the north and to the Colorado River on the south.

3. The 3rd Division under Colonel Racedo was to march through the land of the Ranqueles direct toward Lake Puitagué destroying the *tolderías* of all caciques found there.

4. The 4th Division under Colonel Uriburu, leaving San Rafael, Mendoza, was to skirt the cordilleras as far south as Chos Malal on the Neuquén, where it was to establish headquarters and later effect a junction with the troops which Roca would send up the Negro from Choele-Choele.

5. The 5th Division under Colonel Ilario Lagos was to scout from Trenque Lauquen to Tobay forming with the 1st and 4th Divisions a connecting net which would sweep up and catch the remnants of the tribes which might have escaped through the rest of the army.⁴⁸

From a study of the map, it will be seen that these orders called for a movement by five columns of troops starting from various points on the frontier of Buenos Aires, San Luis, Cordoba, and Mendoza provinces, marching generally southward toward the Río Negro and converging on the Island of Choele-Choele. By the coöperation of these divisions, the result would be as though they were dragging a net between them to catch all Indians who happened to be in their way. Those who escaped might flee across the Río Negro or try to get through the mountain passes into Chile, but there they

⁴⁸ These orders are printed in full in Olascoaga, *La Conquête de la Pampa*, pp. 15-18, 123-124, 155-156, 237-238.

would be caught by the 4th Division under Uriburu who was to block the passes and advance to the junction of the Neuquén and Limay rivers with the Negro. At the latter point, they would be met by the 1st Division which would have ascended the Negro to that point, having intercepted en route as many fugitive Indians as possible. When the net was thus closed, the Indians who were caught inside would have to surrender, and those who had escaped would be unable to return because the line of the Río Negro and Andes would be held by strong permanent garrisons at Choele-Choel and at the junction of the Limay and Neuquén rivers. This skilful and comprehensive plan worked out to perfection.

It is unnecessary to do more than give a general description of operations. As the operation unfolded, the divisions sent out scouts on both flanks to connect with similar detachments from the neighboring divisions. Thus, no Indians could get through between the divisions. The great majority of the troops were cavalrymen who could pursue the mounted enemy.⁴⁹ In order to save the horses as far as possible, Roca, in an order of the day, forbade anyone except field officers, adjutants, and others on urgent service, from galloping their horses. In the 5th Division, soldiers were required to ride mules on the march and to save their horses for attack and pursuit.⁵⁰ This Fifth division traversed the region of the Ranqueles which had been cleared during the previous year's preliminary operations and for fifty leagues after starting found not a single Indian and only abandoned toldos. All territory south to the Colorado River was completely cleared.⁵¹ Whenever this or the other divisions encountered a toldería still occupied, they charged, killed, or dispersed the warriors and captured the families and cattle. To defeat the Indians

⁴⁹ Although the days' marches were comparatively short, averaging a rate of only six kilometers per hour, the immense amount of scouting and pursuing was so hard on the horses that mules were sometimes used to replace them (Marco del Pont, pp. 185, 187).

⁵⁰ Olascoaga, *Estudio Topográfico*, pp. 236, 611.

⁵¹ Marco del Pont, p. 187.

in these skirmishes was an easy matter for the soldiers were always in greater number and were well armed while few of the Indians had firearms,⁵² and those armed only with lances and bolas were helpless against the superior strength, discipline, and equipment of the troops. Whenever it was possible to do so, an effort was made to capture rather than kill a cacique so that he might be sent into exile with the women. It was Roca's policy to break the spirit of the Indians, and to inspire them with fear, in order that they might think only of escaping. By constant attacks he hoped to keep them on the run.⁵³ The report of Lieutenant Colonel E. Racedo commanding the 3rd Division on May 18, 1879, said,

At first our advance guards noticed 314 savages at most, but after a few days, not a single one. We have taken only thirty-one prisoners including both warriors and others.⁵⁴

According to the report of Colonel Lavalle commanding the 2nd Division dated August 15, 1879:

Not a single Indian is left in over a thousand leagues of desert which have been scoured by my patrols, except those wandering in abject misery. The savages have been completely demoralized by previous expeditions. They have fled to the farthest lands of the Pampa. Some have been captured, the rest driven across the Río Negro.⁵⁵

Although as seen in these reports, the officers still speak of the "desert", as a matter of fact they found this hitherto unknown land far from being a desert. A report from Lieutenant Colonel Rudecindo Roca, commanding the advance guard of the 3rd Division, describes the country as rich in humus, covered with excellent pasture grass, and in some places with fine crops ready for harvest.⁵⁶ As far south as the Colorado River plenty of water was found and excellent grass for forage. Between that river and the Negro, water and forage were scarce and south of the latter, no surface water whatever was found, so that it was necessary to dig

⁵² See note 25.

⁵³ Marco del Pont, pp. 164-173.

⁵⁴ Olascoaga, *Estudio Topográfico*, p. 150.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

wells. Along the banks of the Colorado were observed many species of birds including ducks, swans, doves, and ostriches. One of the purposes of the campaign was to seek for lands adapted to colonization.⁵⁷ Practically all the region north of the Negro was suitable for stockraising and much of it for agriculture. South of the Colorado River the real desert began and between that river and the Negro, little water was found.⁵⁸

Since the expedition had been begun so late in the season, the men suffered from the cold, especially at night when there was invariably a frost; and that of May 15 was especially severe.⁵⁹ The 4th Division undoubtedly had the most difficult country to traverse. It left San Rafael, Mendoza, on April 12, 1879, crossed a range to the valley of the Atuel, followed up that river to its headwaters, crossed another range to the upper reaches of the Río Grande, followed that river down to its junction with the Colorado, and then crossed very difficult mountainous country to the Neuquén. This march was most exhausting, as it necessitated constant climbing up steep mountain sides and into and out of narrow gorges, the way through which was frequently blocked by huge boulders which had fallen from the slopes above. This country was densely wooded, trackless, and almost impassable for horses. Consequently, the division contained less cavalry than did the other divisions, having only the 7th Regiment of the Line and two troops of National Guard cavalry. These troops were useful for messenger service and garrison duty in the more open lower slopes of the cordillera. The most important elements of this command were the engineers and a section of mountain artillery with four guns.⁶⁰

Since one of the most important missions of this division was to prevent the escape of the Indians into Chile or the crossing of any Araucanians from that country, it was neces-

⁵⁷ Olascoaga, *Estudio Topográfico*, pp. 111-114, 118-119, 161.

⁵⁸ See Darwin, III. 79, for a description of this region.

⁵⁹ Olascoaga, *Estudio Topográfico*, p. 183.

⁶⁰ Olascoaga, *La Conquête de la Pampa*, pp. 175-231.

sary to explore every water course or other possible trail that led from the cordillera. This duty was extremely exhausting and consumed much time and energy. Many Indians were indeed captured by these scouting detachments and were collected in advanced posts established by Colonel Uriburu at Fort San Martín near the Atuel and Fort Fourth Division on the Neuquén. Many of the prisoners, however, had to be released because they brought with them smallpox, a disease which rapidly spread among the soldiers of the 4th Division. The Indians, surrounded in the mountain passes, fought desperately. Many rushed under the fire of the soldiers' carbines and fought hand to hand using only their long knives. In the more open country, the Indians managed often to escape back to the pampas because the worn-out condition of the soldiers' horses made successful pursuit impossible. When the *toldería* of cacique Baigorrita was surrounded, his family and a score of cattle and sheep were captured, but Baigorrita himself succeeded in escaping on a fresh horse. A signal victory was that of Lieutenant Colonel Aguilar who captured ten warriors including Cumilas, second cacique of the band of Namuncurá, sixty other Indians, and 102 horses.

When the advance guard of the division reached the junction of the Agrio with the Neuquén, a detachment of fifteen men under Lieutenant Isaac Torres constructed rafts and floated down the larger river until they met Lieutenant Colonel Fotheringham, who led an advance party from General Roca's division at the Nido del Condor just above where the confluence of the Neuquén and Limay rivers form the Negro. Dispatches from Colonel Uriburu were then transmitted to General Roca's headquarters. This marked the first closing of the net which Roca had drawn about the Indians.⁶¹

This same Colonel Fotheringham was habitually chosen to command the advance guard of the 1st Division. He has written an interesting account of his experiences in his two

⁶¹ Olascoaga, *La Conquête de la Pampa*, p. 206; Ignacio H. Fotheringham, *La Vida de un Soldado* (Buenos Aires, 1909), II. 391.

volume autobiography called *La Vida de un Soldado*. Describing the operations of the 1st Division under Roca, he lays special stress on the crossing of the Colorado River at Paso Alsina, when Roca with his staff reviewed his troops. At this point the river is 400 meters wide, although there is only a short distance where it is so deep that horses must swim. The water was very cold at that season. The men crossed at route step, shouting and laughing. Then came women, stragglers, and dogs. The actual spectacle was much more beautiful than the well known painting by the famous Uruguayan artist, Blanes.⁶²

After crossing the Colorado, the 1st Division followed up its southern bank to Codo de Chiclana, a bend which the maps showed as being the nearest point to the Negro River. Here Roca decided to strike off across country to the Negro. It was a bold decision, for little reliance could be placed upon the maps; there was no certainty that water would be found in the desert; and captive Indians claimed that it was a three days' journey for the Indians between rivers. How much longer it would take the troops and whether they could find forage and water for the horses was doubtful.

As usual, Colonel Fotheringham led the advance. He marched all night finding the cold intense, but at 10:30 the next morning was overjoyed to discern in the distance the sunlight glistening on the waters of the Negro. He sent the good news back to General Roca and continued his march to the river bank, a distance of thirteen or fourteen leagues from Codo de Chiclana.⁶³

The main body of the division saddled at five in the morning and marched until four in the afternoon. Upon arriving near the river, they heard voices of men shouting to each other in Spanish. It appears that Commandante Guerrico with a detachment of sailors with supplies had already

⁶² Olascoaga, *Estudio Topográfico*, p. 60; Fotheringham, II. 378, 382; Vedia y Mitre, p. 77.

⁶³ Fotheringham, II. 383.

reached the island of Choele-Choel, having come up the river from El Carmen de Patagones in launches and that Comandante Leguía had also arrived, driving before him a hundred mares. The soldiers rushed down the bank to welcome their comrades and were soon ferried across to the island. The next day, May 25, Independence Day was celebrated by the 1st Division on the Island of Choele-Choel with rejoicing that the most doubtful part of the campaign had already been successfully completed. Fourteen thousand Indians had been conquered, 480 Christians had been rescued from captivity and 15,000 square leagues of land had been opened to civilization.⁶⁴

Next day, Roca ordered Fotheringham to lead the advance up the Río Negro to the confluence of the Limay and the Neuquén with fifty men. The journey was accomplished in six days, although the men suffered greatly from hunger and cold. The nights were "Siberian", but fortunately plenty of firewood was found. On June 1, the advance patrol from the 4th Division was encountered as already described.⁶⁵

Fotheringham camped at the junction of the rivers waiting for the main body to come up. He expected to be attacked by Cacique Baigorrita with his numerous followers, but nothing more exciting happened than a false alarm that night. Although the main trail of the Indians led past this point, the current was so strong at the junction of the rivers that it seemed to preclude all crossing. So anxious was Roca to explore the trail on the other side that he offered two thousand pesos to the first who could cross. Fotheringham tore off his clothes, mounted his horse and dashed in. Swimming his horse obliquely down stream with the current, he was soon safe on the other side, his teeth chattering with the cold.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Colonels Hilario Lagos and Enrique Godoy of the 5th Division had been clearing the country of Indians who had slipped through the net and still remained

⁶⁴ Vera y Gonzalez, III. 270; Olascoaga, *Estudio*, p. 76.

⁶⁵ Fotheringham, II. 383-389.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

in the lake region between Luan Lauquen and Nainco. They captured many horses and cattle which they sent to the remount station at Trenque Lauquen; and killed five Indians, captured 203, and released eleven Christians from captivity.⁶⁷

From Choele-Choel Major Jordan Wysoski had been sent with a scouting party south of the Río Negro to San Antonio to examine the route thereto, especially as to the availability of water supply. He reported that the valley would be extremely fertile like that of the Nile if it had water, but that as a regular route, it could not be used unless a permanent supply of water was obtained by drilling wells at suitable distances apart.⁶⁸

President Avellaneda wrote to General Roca as follows:

My applause for the superb outcome of your enterprise, for the exactitude of your operations, for the perfection of all the military services, for the indefatigable constancy of the soldiers, and for the skill of the leaders, never so well demonstrated as on this occasion. . . . I am well pleased for you, for myself, and above all for our country.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, General Roca had returned with the whole 1st Division from the Neuquén to Choele-Choel. Leaving the necessary force at the latter point as a permanent garrison, he himself with his staff left by steamer for Patagones and thence returned to Buenos Aires, arriving there on July 8, 1880. The expedition had been brought to a successful conclusion in two months and twenty-three days. In his formal report to the acting minister of war, General Roca says:

The few groups of Indians who were left in the territory fell into the power of our forces or were compelled to present themselves. Elsewhere they have fled abandoning their families.

Not a single place is left in the desert where Indians can now gather to threaten colonists on the Pampa.

The occupation of the military line of the Negro and Neuquén rivers has been accomplished and the combined operations have been

⁶⁷ Olascoaga, *Estudio, Topográfico*, pp. 222, 233, 238-239.

⁶⁸ Olascoaga, *La Conquête*, pp. 110-112.

⁶⁹ Vedia y Mitre, p. 74.

ended happily with the general exploration of the great stretch of territory which it encircles.

All parts of the desert formerly dominated by Indians from the frontiers of Mendoza and Santa Fé to the Río Negro and the Andes even to Buenos Aires can now be settled and may safely be used by industry. Civilized populations will come to relieve our military forces of the simple although indispensable service of police which today is still required.

In the Andes an end has been put to illicit driving of cattle.

The acquisition of geographical and topographical knowledge is of importance. Far from being an arid desert as we supposed, the greater part of La Pampa contains soil which is rich, excellent, and suitable for cultivation. Even in the territory between the Ríos Colorado and Negro it can be irrigated from the Colorado. It is everywhere covered with good pasturage. Our horses grew fat in spite of the constant marching. Important results have been accomplished by the scientific investigations made by the professors from the University of Cordoba who accompanied the troops.⁷⁰

Although Roca could justly claim that the desert had been conquered, he had not at that time put an absolute end to all further conflicts with the Indians. He had driven them out of the desert, but as has been said, many of them had escaped into the western cordilleras where they were able to hide in secure fastnesses which they knew, could escape into Chile, or could live with their friends, Cacique Inacayul and the other Tehuelches who dwelt peaceably in the angle of the mountains between the Limay and the Neuquén rivers. Since the passes connecting Lake Nahuel Huapi in Argentina and Lake Llanquihue in Chile led through this region, it was easy for the fugitive Indians to take shelter either with the Argentine or Chilean tribes of the Araucanians and to incite them to commit depredations. Caciques Inacayul and Millamanque of the Tehuelches wished to present themselves at conferences with the Argentine commanders, but were prevented by the renegade Ranquele caciques, Namuncurá and Reuquecurá, who wished to continue to profit by sheltering themselves in the

⁷⁰ Olascoaga, *Estudio topográfico*, pp. 249-252.

tolderías of the Tehuelches. Inacayul promised the Argentine authorities that if they would permit him to remain in the Limay region, he would not let Cacique Shayhueque come in, but he broke his promise and later gave the latter shelter and likewise helped Naucuchea.

This state of affairs continued for about two years after Roca reported the conquest of the desert completed, but finally the commanding general at Choele-Choel determined to conclude matters. Accordingly, therefore, in November 1882, he sent the 2nd Division of the army into the Lake Nahuel Huapi region to clean all Indians, friendly as well as hostile, out of their hiding places in the mountains.

The three brigades of the division were assigned independent sectors within which they were to scout constantly with small parties, search every stream or defile in the mountains, destroy the hiding places, and drive out all Indians. Each of the three operated in detachments of fifty to a hundred men, over a distance of forty leagues straight ahead, and contacted on the right with the detachments of the adjoining brigade. In this way all valleys and defiles were explored and not a single Indian was left in this zone of 2400 square leagues. The operations began November 26, 1882, and continued until the end of March, 1883. Three hundred and sixty-four Indian warriors were killed, 1700 surrendered, or were taken prisoners, and more than 3000 were driven out. Captured cattle, horses, and mares were distributed to officers for the use of their troops or were divided among the friendly Indians. All Indians who surrendered were given horses, mares, and sheep. The line of the Andes was strengthened by the establishment of permanent fortifications. Thirteen block-houses were built to guard the principal routes to Chile from Lake Nahuel Huapi to Pulmary.⁷¹ This campaign was conducted under the leadership of General Escelso Villegas, who

⁷¹ *Campaña de los Andes al Sur de la Patagonia por la 2a Division del Ejercito*, 1883. *Partes de tallados y Diario de la Expedición*. Oficial Publicación (Buenos Aires, 1883), pp. 6, 7, 17-19, 40-41.

after his death in 1883, was succeeded by General Lorenzo Vintter in the command of the 2nd Division of the army. On February 9, 1885, the latter reported the disappearance of the frontier and the end of the war against the Indians. General Vintter also praised the 2nd Division

for its five-year campaign in which it endured sufferings with true military constancy—in winter, in the snowy region of the cordillera, in summer, in the arid plateau of Patagonia amid incessantly threatening dangers which have been honorably overcome at the expense of much bloodshed.⁷²

Whether the campaign of the desert ended in 1879 when Roca said it did, or not until 1885 when all the Indians had been driven out of the Chilean passes near Lake Nahuel Huapi, the credit for the successful accomplishment, both of the main campaign and its subsidiary aftermath in the mountains, should clearly be accorded to General Roca. He it was who conceived of the idea, planned the campaign, designated the methods of carrying it out and personally supervised most of its execution. That it was merely a “military promenade” through the pampas as some historians assert⁷³ need not belittle the praise that is Roca’s due. The fact that it was carried out with so little apparent effort and such trifling losses does not minimize the importance of the accomplishment, but simply shows that it was so carefully planned as to work to perfection. The saving of life and the rapidity of accomplishment were not owing to the simplicity of the problem but to the care with which each detail had been thought out and planned. To General Roca belongs the lion’s share of the credit for working out these details.

The results of the Conquest of the Desert may be summed up as follows:

1. The final pacification of the deserts on the south of the Republic.
2. The end of the war with the Indians, of the useless sacrifices by the army, and of the insecurity of the populated frontiers.

⁷² Biedma, pp. 696, 698-700.

⁷³ See Urien and Colombo, p. 609.

3. The end of stealing and carrying off of cattle to Chile; the end of paying tribute to the Indian.
4. The liberation of hundreds of white captives held by the Indians.
5. The revelation of the mysterious topography of the desert and the taking possession of its unknown riches.
6. The addition of 20,000 square leagues of rich territory to the republic and the settlement of those lands.
7. The encouragement of immigration and colonization.
8. The designation as national territories of this region over the ownership of which five provinces had disputed.⁷⁴

Of these items the one which still has the most influence on the economic life of the Argentine Republic and which therefore interests us the most, is the sixth. The inclusion of this immense expanse of land to the republic has helped to make Argentina one of the leading powers of the southern continent of America. Out of the lands acquired by the conquest of the desert, the senate and chamber of deputies by an act passed October 16, 1884, created the three territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Neuquén.⁷⁵

According to the laws of October 14, 1884, and October 8, 1890, the administration of the national territories depends directly on the national government, the civil and political administration being responsible to the ministry of the interior. The governor is appointed by the president with the consent of the senate. Territories having 30,000 inhabitants have a legislature which convenes for three months each year, while those having 50,000 or more inhabitants have the right to be admitted as provinces of the Argentine Republic, just as territories of the United States have been admitted as states.⁷⁶ But as yet none has been admitted.

Of these territories La Pampa has an area of 145,907 square kilometers; Neuquén, 109,703 square kilometers; and Río Negro 196,695 square kilometers. At the time of the con-

⁷⁴ Biedma, p. 139; Marco del Pont, pp. 189-191; Olascoaga, *La Conquête de la Pampa*, pp. IX-XI.

⁷⁵ Grassi, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁶ Urien and Colombo, p. 539.

quest they had practically no settled white population. In 1930, La Pampa had a population of 179,570, Neuquén of 41,105; and Río Negro of 55,570. The gaucho, the original type of wandering inhabitant of the pampas, has disappeared.⁷⁷

As soon as the pampas were open to civilization, special efforts were made by the government and private individuals to populate it. Land was distributed to officers and soldiers who had taken part in the campaign, and lots and sections were allotted or sold to citizens on condition that they should cultivate it and dig wells. Subsequently, the allotted lands were sold to the highest bidders.⁷⁸ Various towns were founded in the new lands. As early as 1882, members of the 9th Cavalry, after receiving their allotments, founded Victoria. The town of General Acha, at present the largest city in the territory of La Pampa, was founded by the assignment of lots by the government. In 1905, were established the foundations of General Pico, Italica, Belbedere, Dorica, Maloicino, and Las Liebres.⁷⁹

Immigrants flocked in from all parts of Argentina, from adjacent countries, especially Chile, and from Europe. In twenty years land rose in value from \$200 gold per square league to \$50,000.⁸⁰ In 1879, land sold in Olavarria at \$350 the square league; thirty years later, similar land sold at \$400,000.⁸¹ General Fotheringham bewails the fact that he, like most army officers, was a poor business man and let the eight square leagues of land which he had received as lieutenant colonel go for \$600 per square league. At the time he thought he was making a good profit, but later he realized that he was selling at an "infamous price".⁸² Of course, as in the case of all real estate booms, there were many instances of dishonesty and sharp practices. Various individuals man-

⁷⁷ W. Jaime Molins, *La Pampa* (Buenos Aires, 1918), pp. 20-21; Gastón Federico Tobal, *Lecciones de Geografía Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1931), p. 134.

⁷⁸ Urien and Colombo, pp. 525, 598, 611.

⁷⁹ Grassi, pp. 20-23.

⁸¹ Marco del Pont, p. 191.

⁸⁰ Urien and Colombo, p. 598.

⁸² Fotheringham, II. 395.

aged to acquire vast tracts of land which they subdivided and opened for colonization. Poor immigrants were induced to settle in homesteads on these tracts at very reasonable terms and to contribute to their development, and when the value of the lands had risen were required to pay for them at exorbitant rates; or else get out and abandon all their possessions.⁸³

President Avellaneda called the conquest important not only because it reclaimed from the Indians some 15,000 square leagues, but because it designated the limits of five provinces in relation to national territory. Up to March 31, 1880, the expedition cost 1,214,000 pesos for all purposes including purchase of horses, equipage, and means of transport, construction of cantonments and hospitals, purchase of vessels, exploration of rivers, reconnaissances, expeditions south of the Neuquén to the lands between that river, the Limay, and the Andes, as well as for the founding of towns and colonies. Yet before December 31, 1879, the sale of new public lands netted 713,877 pesos. Thus, it was necessary to expend from the public funds up to that date for the cost of the expedition only 500,000 pesos. The president also said that out of the appropriations of \$1,500,000 for the rescue of captives held by the Indians, only 300,000 to 400,000 pesos had been spent.⁸⁴

On the whole the conquest of the desert, from the financial and business point of view, was an excellent investment. In spite of the drawbacks above described, inevitable in a boom development, the evolution and progress of the territories conquered from the desert have had the most significant effect on the progress of Argentina. The conquest of the desert may be considered fully as important as any event in the history of that country since it became an independent nation.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Washington, Connecticut.

⁸³ Grassi, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁴ Vedia y Mitre, pp. 60-61.

BOOK REVIEWS

South American Progress. By C. H. HARING. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1934. Pp. x, 241. \$2.50.)

This book is a collection of lectures delivered by Professor Haring before the Lowell Institute in Boston. In the modest words of the author, "they pretend to nothing more than a rapid survey of the principal republics of South America". And though they make no claim to any original contribution to knowledge, their skilful treatment of facts well known to the serious student of South American history constitutes a very real addition to the historiography of the Hispanic republics.

Six chapters cover the development of the ten republics since their independence. Venezuela is the only country slighted in the process. One general chapter gives a review of the conditions and problems which grew out of the wars of independence. A final chapter covers South American relations with the United States, which Mr. Haring has discussed in a previous work. Separate chapters are devoted to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia. The tangled story of rivalries between the four states of the River Plate basin is clearly told in one of the most valuable chapters of the book. Another tells the more familiar story of the clash of West Coast ambitions which culminated in Chilean ascendancy along the Pacific.

The emphasis throughout is laid on the larger national movements. Ephemeral constitutional changes are ignored, as is the "cawing of kites and crows", which is as liable to confuse the writing of South American history as it has the chronicles of Anglo-Saxon England or medieval Germany. Yet the dominant personalities of the period are given their due place. Particularly effective are his portraits of Portales and Balmaceda in Chile, Rosas in Argentina, Rafael Núñez in Colombia, and Dom Pedro II. in Brazil.

It is a work of matured and reasoned judgments. Only one sure of his essential facts and values could have created so well balanced a synthesis. The errors of detail are few. From my own observations I cannot agree with his statement that the bulk of the Paraguayan people are still pure Indian. In fact, miscegenation has

proceeded far in the Guaraní lands. Nor do I share his ideas of the upper Amazon country as an unmitigated wilderness, "just beginning to be penetrated by white men". The sagas of the wanderings of obscure rubber gatherers in that region have only been told by Euclides da Cunha, but their place in the history of the continent is no less important. Most of what Mr. Haring has written may be an old story to the specialist. However, if I were to choose the book on Hispanic America appearing during the past five years which offers to the general reader the most satisfactory guide to the background of present-day South America I would unhesitatingly select this work. It is an eminently readable book, as well as a sound one.

W. L. SCHURZ.

Washington, D. C.

Church and State in Latin America. A History of Politico-Ecclesiastical Relations. By J. LLOYD MECHAM. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934. Pp. xii, 550. Index. Bibliography, \$4.50.)

Professor Mecham is to be congratulated for breaking ground on a gigantic task—a task whose detailed completion would be ample for a lifetime of research and a series of volumes. His present study is an attempt to give a bird's-eye view of the situation in each country, or group of countries, in Hispanic America. An arbitrary selection of incidents and details, to illustrate the conditions, is the inevitable result.

Naturally, students who use Dr. Mecham's work will disagree with the distribution of emphasis, for any treatment of Church and State relations in twenty to thirty pages for a nation which has adopted and disestablished a state church two or three times in a century and a quarter, leads to material omissions. For instance, many will consider that relations with the Vatican receive undue emphasis. Important as were the issues over the patronage and other diplomatic questions, these are so heavily stressed that over three-fourths of the space devoted to Argentina is used in a discussion revolving around this theme. Possibly any attempt to show the interplay of economic and political issues of purely local and national type would lead to such a maze of details as to justify leaving out the whole treatment. Still it hardly seems justifiable to discuss the "property rights of the

church, and its relation to education, marriage and the like" in a mere four pages out of a total of thirty.

A critical reader also finds a few sweeping statements, which are hardly borne out by the contents of the volume. For instance: "... once he [Calles] embarked upon a given course, nothing could swerve him" (p. 480), yet Calles's comparative conservatism, after being in office a number of years, is well recognized. Also, the author states that "the agreement [of 1926 between the Mexican Government and the Church] in the matter of registration of ministers was all-important" (p. 496) yet, as is shown in the following pages, the condition of the clergy in Mexico was steadily worse up to and including the date of the publication of the volume.

One other criticism is that a quite good working bibliography is not in the most usable form for the average student. It shows long lists of materials classified as primary, secondary, and the like, but most students wish to use these for individual countries or sections. To do so, one has to read laboriously about twenty-five pages of titles in order to sort out the fifteen or twenty dealing with the country in which he may be interested.

On the credit side of the ledger are to be placed many items. The bibliography has many short descriptions which aptly indicate the contents. The one hundred pages (one-fifth of the whole) devoted to the colonial and independence periods give an excellent background for the rest of the volume. The last one-fifth of the volume is devoted to Mexico, and is a very happy use of space in view of the great present interest in that country and its struggles.

Personal opinions are frankly offered from time to time, and, as such, may be approved or disapproved by the reader. However, one must come to the conclusion that the author has maintained a most unusual degree of impartiality in the treatment of this highly controversial subject.

In short, while one may disagree with Professor Mecham as to his division of his subject matter and may point out technical flaws, such as that of attributing to *Current History* numerous articles written by individual authors, still the writer is to be congratulated and thanked by his colleagues for providing this highly valuable introduction to a field so little known.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

University of South Carolina.

American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650. By EARL J. HAMILTON. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934. Pp. 428. \$4.50.)

This excellent study based on extensive research in Spanish sources has been preceded by one on a study of money and prices in Andalusia and is to be followed by other studies of Spanish money. It represents a highly inductive sort of investigation unfortunately all too rare.

The first chapters have the greatest interest for the average reader. They discuss the flood of precious metals, chiefly silver, which came out of the Americas in the period following the discovery of the new world, how shipments were protected, their amounts, how they were accounted for, and what disposition was made of them. For the economist, however, the later chapters describing the effect of the entry of the new gold and silver and the shifting monetary policies adopted on the economy of Spain are the most valuable portions of the volume. The vagaries of the succeeding governments in their struggles with their currencies are well presented and the effects on prices and wage levels are elaborately analyzed.

Charles V. and Philip II. both stood firmly for sound money but the resolutions of their weaker successors broke under the pressure to debase the currency to escape the consequences of debts caused by wars and other extravagances and the result was "more destructive than the wars in Flanders". The deluge of gold and silver from the new world would in itself have brought great disturbance in prices and in the relations of debtor and creditor but manipulation of the currency accentuated the difficulties of a situation already acute.

The later portion of the volume discusses by provinces the consequences of the price revolution brought by the new supplies of precious metals and the monetary experiments and gives an analysis of the money and real wages resulting. The lessons which the Spanish experience carries might well have been made a study by those who in more recent days have undertaken to "tinker the coinage". Had that occurred the peoples of both the old world and the new might have been spared painful repetitions of the experiences of the sixteenth century. But proposals for more money and cheaper money still charm those who believe in new eras and generation after generation shows itself willing to follow economic pied pipers.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

El Tesoro del Dabaibe. By OCTAVIO MÉNDEZ PEREIRA. (Panamá: Talleres Gráficos "Benedetti", 1934. Pp. vii, 317.)

It required some temerity to retrace the story of Vasco Núñez de Balboa after the carefully documented and exhaustive accounts of the late José Toribio Medina of Chile and Professor Angel Altolaguirre of Spain, to say nothing of the earlier biography of our own Washington Irving. Yet such a feat has been performed with success and charm by the author of the delightful book under review. In its realism and dramatic qualities the work recalls the historical romances of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez—in fact, Dr. Méndez states that the idea of this biography of Balboa was first suggested to him by the Spanish novelist. We are assured, however, that the book contains nothing "que no sea estrictamente histórico", and we may well believe it is so, not only because of the author's unquestioned competency as a scholar and investigator—he is rector of the Instituto Nacional and one of the foremost historians of Panamá—but also because Balboa's life lends itself admirably to such treatment. The figure of the conquistador does indeed live again and the reader follows his career to its tragic end with almost breathless interest.

The title of the book needs a word of explanation. According to the Indian mythology "the Dabaibe" was originally the mother of the gods of the elements but through successive legends became converted into a golden temple or treasure which like a will-o'-the-wisp lured the Spaniards to high emprise or destruction; and chief among the votaries of "the Dabaibe" was Balboa.

Other accounts of the discoverer of the South Sea have been more abundantly documented but none, with which the reviewer is familiar, evokes the figure of Balboa with equal charm or vividness.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

O Integralismo de Norte a Sur. By GUSTAVO BARROSO. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira. 1934.)

This volume of around 180 pages is made up of the author's lectures and addresses on behalf of Integralism during a recent speaking tour of Brazil. Integralism, the new political creed which has attained considerable following in Brazil, is here for the first time briefly and completely synthesized. It is difficult for a foreign observer, amid

the diversity of Brazilian parties and political grouping, of new and localized affiliations, to understand the true orientation of national life; particularly now, under the new constitution. But the book before us makes one thing at least perfectly clear: Integralism is fascism, translated into Brazilian terminology, transplanted to and modified by the South American environment, proclaimed under another name but identical with the fascism of Europe.

The author reveals a great store of political knowledge. His book is strikingly similar to the recent study by the Spanish fascist, Giménez Caballero—strongly influenced by the doctrinaire element of the new political creed—and also to *Universal Aspects of Fascism*, by the Englishman, Barnes. Dr. Barroso's statement of his thesis, introduced with a definition from Aristoteles, is the interpretation currently given of society and its institutions by fascist theorists. He examines three political manifestations—liberalism, communism, and integralism.

Communism promises justice by a process which is simply the reflex of liberalism—the same figure inverted. They spring from the same seed and are destined for the same destroying end. . . . Liberalism isolates man in individualism and considers him solely as a citizen voter. Communism submerges him in the ocean of the mass. Integralism emphasizes all his creative forces, his basic values; all the potentialities of the soil and of the race in a unity of culture and mind. It is a configuration of society for new ends.

These new ends are, for the author, completely alien to traditional liberalism, denounced as a system essentially individualist and in a certain sense individualizing. The integral nation—another way of saying the fascist nation—is the social revolution scientifically directed. It sounds remarkably like the Rooseveltian directed economy. The new structure is to be based on nationalism and corporationism—twin doctrines of Bottay, Sorel, and other prophets of the state as corporation. Our author recurs constantly to these springs of inspiration to formulate his concept of the corporate state. Sir Oswald Mosley is frequently cited, particularly to prove the preponderance of the two most essential ideas in European fascist thought: the necessity of a new spirituality—or the resurgence of spirituality—and the powerful rôle of fascism as an instrument for saving western civilization from Asiatic and anti-Christian inundations.

Nevertheless, the integralism of Brazil is not merely a doctrine identical with universal fascism. It possesses its woodnotes wild, its

Brazilian overtones. Dr. Barroso discusses briefly integralism and Brazilianism—"God and the Fatherland". Brazil is to have restored its integrity and its grandeur; a restoration hitherto rendered impossible, according to the author, by politics, personalism in public life, and sterile internal conflicts. "The nation is the expression of a common tradition". Barroso declares that the integralist movement is not a political party, but a doctrine, a culture, and a faith which, when understood and embraced, will give a new greatness and dignity to Brazil.

Brazilian fascists, we learn, wear green shirts; and the emblem on the arm is not the Hitlerian swastika but the Greek letter Sigma, mathematical sign for the sum of values. The reader regrets that the author does not enter more fully into details of the history of the integralist movement. The book lacks a preface and preliminary observations, but in spite of this lack—keenly felt by the foreign reader ignorant of events leading up to the movement and little familiar with contemporary Brazilian politics—the book is memorable for its brilliant style, sincerity, and enthusiastic faith. It possesses the vibrancy, the ardor, of some European collectivist works. It familiarizes us to a considerable degree with an interesting and significant aspect of the South American political scene. Above all, it demonstrates that a fascist movement of some proportions is not impossible in the Americas; and that, though the fundamental doctrine is independent of environment, in Brazil at least it has acquired a distinctively American coloring.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

Gomes Carneiro: O General da Republica. By PEDRO CALMON. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, 1933. Pp. 191.

In his preface, Sr. Calmon states that he seeks to give not the bare biographical details of the life of Gomes Carneiro, but, rather, a portrait of the man as a symbol of the extremely complex period which followed the establishment of the republic in Brazil. To this end, he proposes the thesis that just as the Duque de Caxias was the typical soldier of the army of the empire, Gomes Carneiro was the analogue in the army of the republic. Unfortunately, Sr. Calmon is not a military man, and though he handles the details of the campaigns of the Paraguayan War and the naval revolt with much literary skill,

he gives no very satisfying proof of his proposition. His sketch is not enough of an historical novel to be merely entertaining, while as a scholarly work it is unsatisfactory.

Gomes Carneiro entered the army at the time of the Paraguayan War and served with distinction. The war over, a veteran of twenty-five, he remained a soldier during the trying period when that body was suffering from the pacifist inclinations of D. Pedro II, who became with increasing age more the civil ruler and less the emperor at the head of his troops. When the militaristic republic took over the government in 1889, Carneiro rose high in prestige, because he was a friend of, and highly esteemed by, Floriano Peixoto. However, it was not until the explosion of the naval revolt of 1893 that he came to his apogee as a soldier, for it was during the revolt that he was sent by Floriano to hold the south against the insurgents. After his death, which occurred under spectacular circumstances during the siege of Lapa, he was raised by Floriano to the rank of general, and has since become another of the great but little-known figures in modern Brazilian history.

Sr. Calmon, in clothing this outline with his fine if polychromatic style, makes no use of bibliographical material, but relies on information drawn from personal conversations with survivors of the period treated and with friends of Carneiro. By this means, he gives a color to his account which often convinces the reader in spite of the almost complete lack of footnotes. To be sure, he offers no new interpretation, but the details he gives of the siege of Lapa will be of great interest.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

Washington, D. C.

Sarmiento. Constructor de la nueva Argentina. By ANÍBAL PONCE. [Vidas españolas e hispanoamericanas del siglo XIX, vol. 28.] (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1932. Pp. 7, 239. Illus.)

Sarmiento. La Vida. La Obra. Las Ideas. El Genio. By ALBERTO PALCOS. (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1929. Pp. 5, 445.)

The peculiar contribution of the excellent Sarmiento study by Aníbal Ponce is to be found in its literary style and in its analysis of the source of Sarmiento's ideas. Ponce writes (p. 14); "Cuando un gran hombre irrumpe en la monotonía de la existencia diaria, ganas dan de buscarle . . . los signos precursores que lo anuncian". The work therefore places considerable emphasis on a study of Sarmiento's

home life and education and the character of his mother; it describes in detail those ideas which Sarmiento gained in his visit to Europe, but, strangely, gives very little attention to those gained from the United States.

Other distinctive features of this study are the accounts of Sarmiento's relationship to the various public men of his time, the antagonisms he aroused, the difficulties with which he was forced to contend. The description of his work as governor of San Juan is also excellent.

The interpretation of Sarmiento's marriage as presented by Ponce differs from that usually found. He writes (pp. 103, 104): "Años atrás, una unión fugaz había dado a Sarmiento su hija Faustina. Los amores actuales le darían un varón, un varón, que durante tres años llevaría por nombre el de Domingo Fidel Castro antes de llegar a convertirse en el tal amado Dominguito de Sarmiento". Again, in describing his later separation from his wife, Ponce relates Sarmiento's affliction at the social and political aspects of the resultant scandal. His despondency was reported to Mitre, who (p. 191) "le ofreció entonces una misión que sabía le era grata: la de ministro plenipotenciario en los Estados Unidos". Usually more political reasons are given for this embassy!

In the prologue to the second study of Sarmiento, that by Alberto Palcos, the author writes: "Pertenece Sarmiento a ese raro linaje de grandes hombres sobre los cuales jamás cesa de investigarse". That this particular study is well documented is evidenced by the author's claim to have read the fifty-two volumes of the official edition of the *Obras completas* and to have investigated much of Sarmiento's journalistic work as well. The prologue contains a list of forty-eight authors who have written books or articles on Sarmiento, and the footnotes throughout the volume refer to additional material.

After this highly valuable prologue, the study is divided into two parts. Book I, on the life and work of Sarmiento (pp. 13-301), consists of seventeen chapters—not the sixteen listed in the index and in the study itself, where chapter seven is listed twice. Book II (pp. 305-438) presents an analysis of the ideas and of the character of Sarmiento.

In addition to its bibliographical features, the distinct contributions of this study are its discussion of the social emphasis of Sarmiento's work, the change in his concept of Rosas, and his political

career in Argentina—notably his stand on the matter of the union of Buenos Aires with the Confederation, the intricacies of his candidacy to the presidency (pp. 209-224), and the destructive and constructive aspects of the work during his term of office.

In view of the great amount of material on the United States in the *Obras completas*, it is surprising to find only about two pages of this lengthy study devoted to the account of Sarmiento's 1847 visit there and approximately five pages to the three year visit from 1865 to 1868, especially as the author qualifies those latter years as "sumamente provechosos". On page 202 he states "Recibió el título de doctor *honoris causa* en la Universidad de Brown", which this reviewer believes to be inaccurate.

Part II describes Sarmiento as journalist, pedagogue, sociologist, and statesman. There is a study of his aesthetic ideas (see also the Argentine periodical, *Nosotros*, 64:145-157, May, 1929) and a character analysis. Sarmiento's "utilitarismo social" is especially emphasized, his desire to be of service to humanity. The work concludes with an indication of the reason for that continued American interest in Sarmiento which was mentioned at its beginning. In writing of Sarmiento's death, the author notes "Respetando otro deseo suyo, su cadáver fué envuelto en las banderas de los cuatro pueblos que sirvió: Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, y Uruguay". That of the United States might well have been added.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

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El Arzobispo Guevara y Guzmán Blanco. Documentación relativa al Conflicto entre la Iglesia y el Estado en Venezuela bajo el Gobierno de estos dos Personajes, 1870-1876. By Monseñor NICOLÁS E. NAVARRO. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1932, pp. xxi, 491.)

Disquisición sobre el Patronato eclesiástico en Venezuela. By Monseñor NICOLÁS E. NAVARRO. (Caracas: Editorial Sur-America, 1931, pp. iv, 197.)

La Política religiosa del Libertador. By Monseñor NICOLÁS E. NAVARRO. (Caracas: Tipografía Americana, 1933, pp. 38.)

No one has labored more earnestly and worthily within this generation to restore and uphold the intellectual and spiritual integrity of the church in Venezuela than Dr. Nicolás E. Navarro, dean of the

metropolitan church of Caracas. As a member of the National Academy of History and the Academy of Political and Social Sciences, his scholarship is highly respected by his colleagues in those institutions. Since 1895, his studies on various phases of Venezuelan church history have appeared. In 1929, his most considerable work, *Anales eclesiásticos Venezolanos*, was published. In this study, he gave much attention to the conflict between the Church and General Guzmán Blanco, a conflict which constitutes one of the most important chapters in the history of the Church in Venezuela. This new volume, *El Arzobispo Guevara y Guzmán Blanco*, is a collection of documents on the same subject. Most of them have been published before, but Dr. Navarro has done a very useful work in bringing them together in one volume. Also he has made some valuable additions of documents previously unpublished, especially those in Part Nine obtained from the archives of the papal nuncio in Caracas.

Part One, "La iglesia y el gobierno de Venezuela", comprises much the larger section of the collection (301 pages). It contains the decrees and pronouncements of the government on the Church, government correspondence on the Church question, and the correspondence between the Government and the Church during the controversy, along with certain other documents, including the pastorals of the archbishop and the four famous letters of Archdeacon Sucre to Guzmán Blanco. Part Two consists of memoranda on the attitude and activity of the Church in the civil war waged by Guzmán Blanco during the war; Part Three, previously unpublished correspondence of Guevara with the Church; Part Four, the Acts of the metropolitan chapter during the conflict; Parts Five to Nine, the statements of individuals, lay and clerical, most of whom had an important rôle in this controversy—Antonio Parejo, Diego Urbaneja, Lino Duarte Levêl, Roque Cocchia, Henrique Fanger, Domingo Olavarría, and Francisco González Guinán; Part Nine, the correspondence of the papacy on the conflict.

The Law of the Patronage of 1824 has been a chief feature of Venezuelan polity since its secession from the Colombian Union in 1830. This law, adopted by the congress of Cúcuta under the government of Gran Colombia and accepted as the constitution of the Church in Venezuela in 1830, established strict state control without an agreement with the papacy. Article Two of the Law stated, however, that the government should celebrate a concordat. Such an agreement has

never been reached, and the papacy has never sanctioned the exercise of power by the government under the law. The Venezuelan clergy protested against the unilateral action of the government at the time of the enactment of the law and has continued to urge that a concordat be celebrated. Dr. Navarro in his *Disquisición sobre el Patronato eclesiástico en Venezuela*, dedicated to the Venezuelan episcopate, expresses an earnest hope that such an agreement may yet be reached.

This study is a history of the patronage question from the colonial period to the present. An especially interesting feature of the work is the detailed analysis of the law, clause by clause, and a comparison of it with the Spanish legislation on the colonial church in the Laws of the Indies. Dr. Navarro shows by this comparison that Spanish law and practice were adhered to in general but that there were important divergences, chiefly in the direction of increasing state control. Not even the Spanish regalists went so far in their insistence on the rights of the political power as the Venezuelan state is a declaration substantiated by a comparison of these laws.

A number of important documents on the history of the Church are incorporated into the text of this study. In addition there is an appendix containing copies of the bull of Julius II. of 1508, the Law of the Patronage of 1824, and the Concordat signed in 1862, an agreement that was never ratified by the Venezuelan Government.

The study, *La política religiosa del Libertador*, reprinted from the *Boletín* of the Academy of History, was published in commemoration of the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Bolívar. Opinions on Bolívar's policy toward religion and the Church have ranged, as Navarro points out, from those which set him down as anti-religious or extreme anti-clerical to those which proclaim him an ardent reactionary. Dr. Navarro emphasizes the fundamentally *conservative* character of Bolívar's policy on the Church. He insists, in fact, that Bolívar never *adopted* an ecclesiastical policy, but simply followed the traditions of the Spanish régime. In spite of certain appeals he made to the ideal of religious liberty, Navarro believes that Bolívar never contemplated separation of Church and State as a solution of the religious question. Whatever opinion one might have as to Bolívar's politico-ecclesiastical theories and ultimate objectives in the solution of this peculiar problem, it would appear that Navarro's interpretation of his immediate policy and practice is substantiated.

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MARY WATTERS.

Martí el Apostol. By JORGE MAÑACH. [Vidas Españolas Hispano-americanas del Siglo XIX.] (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1933. Pp. 319. Portrait. 5 pesetas.)

Martí en Mexico. By JOSÉ DE J. NUÑEZ Y DOMINGUEZ. (Mexico: Imprenta de la Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1934. Pp. 384. Illustrations.)

It may safely be said that there is no other personality in Spanish America today more vital, more dynamic, and more alive than José Martí, who died May 19, 1895, fighting for the liberation of the Cuban people. Although he has been dead for over 39 years, his ideals constitute an inspiring and driving force in the political and intellectual development of the southern continent. His principles are closer to the heart and mind of his fellowmen today than ever before. His creed is better understood and has more devoted followers at present throughout Hispanic America than during his own days, when he preached it in his peregrinations in Mexico, and in Central and South America. Better, perhaps, than any other leader, Martí incarnates at present the noblest ambitions of those peoples, their ideals of progress and social justice, their eagerness for political decency and freedom—freedom without outside interference. He is a symbol, and the realization of his doctrines has become a goal earnestly pursued by the best elements of those countries. Hence, the profound interest awakened by his writings, as they become better known, and the astounding mass of critical bibliography dealing with different aspects of his activities, which has been published in recent years. It may be said without exaggeration that no other writer in Spanish of present-day Spanish America is so eagerly studied.

Strange as it may seem, up to 1933, there was no biography worthy of this great man—truly a hero in the Carlylian sense of the word. The several attempts that had previously been made were all short of the mark, and one and all failed to portray the moral and intellectual greatness of the man. Not one of the preceding biographers of Martí—not even Carbonell and Isidro Méndez—succeeded in grasping the great significance of his life. He was too big for them. No author before Jorge Mañach has been able to present a full-size picture of the Cuban liberator.

By his natural talent, his culture, and his detailed knowledge of Martí's life and deeds, Mañach was exceptionally well equipped to

write this much-needed biography. It is scant praise to say that he has met all expectations in this volume. Within its short compass, he has touched on every one of the important events of Martí's life from childhood to death. The result is a keen, analytic production, that is, moreover, written with sympathetic understanding. Not seldom does the author throw new light on many obscure or controversial points. Moreover, this is no recital of bare facts scientifically verified and chronologically arranged, but a living, vital portrayal of a real man, told with all the art of Lytton Strachey, Emil Ludwig, and Stefan Zweig. At last, we have a life of Martí that presents a true portrait and makes us see with clearness all that was great, noble, and inspiring in his unselfish career—all told with the beauty and directness that characterizes the author's style.

The volume by José de J. Núñez y Domínguez is the result of the research of many years by one of the most distinguished scholars and poets of present-day Mexico. Like Mañach, he is one of the admirers and disciples of the Cuban master. His book is a valuable contribution to the bibliography of Martí, and illumines a particular phase of his life which has hitherto been inadequately known. To the 313 pages of delightful narrative, the author has added 71 pages of illustrations which greatly increase the informative value and the interest of the volume. Only the author's happy combination of scholarship, unusual literary sensibility, and profound devotion to his subject could have produced a work of such high merit. In *Martí en Mexico*, the reader will find a detailed study not only of Martí's literary and political activities in Mexico, and a charming account of his sentimental and friendly relationships, but also very useful references to the most important men of letters of Mexico at that time.

MANUEL PEDRO GONZÁLEZ.

University of California at Los Angeles.

The Caracas Company, 1728-1784. A Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trade. By ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY. (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1934. Pp. xii, 358. Bibliography. Index. \$4.00).

An important part of this study concerns seventeenth-century projects, both chimerical and plausible, for the establishment of Spanish overseas trading companies. It is clear that the failure of Spain to imitate Dutch, French, and English trade organizations did not arise

from an enlightened abhorrence of corporate monopoly. Some of the schemes for thrusting a privileged company into the Spanish colonial system barely escaped official promotion before the demise of the Hapsburgs. The principal issue at stake was not the theoretical malignity of monopoly but the effect on the existing privileges of Andalusian merchants loosely incorporated in the Consulado of Seville.

Considerable space is devoted to colonial opposition to the Caracas Company. The enmity of the colonists varied directly with the effectiveness of efforts on the part of the Company to exterminate interloping, which long experience had proved to be the most economical way of provisioning the colonies and providing markets for their products. The failure of the Company was not that of monopoly as a form of business organization but rather that of comparatively inefficient Spanish enterprise in the face of superior, though "illicit", business initiative—unless we concede monopoly *per se* to be the cause of this incompetence. This conclusion, which Dr. Hussey draws with respect to the Catalan Company, should have been reiterated as the epilogue of the Caracas Company: "Its difficulty lay in the fact that not legal trade, but one most active, foreign, illicit, and long established was its competitor. That competitor it never overcame" (p. 218).

The choice of title for Chapter VII ("The Rise of Free Trade") and the incautious use of the term *free trade* in the context is particularly unfortunate, since what is related is only the movement toward substituting colonial trade on a competitive basis, *for Spaniards only*, for the fleet and privileged-company system. Well established usage militates against the translation of *libre comercio* as "free trade" under any circumstance. Far from being precursors of Adam Smith, none of the writers and statesmen cited in this chapter had the slightest inkling of the economics of free trade. In fact, eighteenth-century Spanish mercantilists departed from their predecessors more in stressing protective tariffs than in any other particular.

Typographical errors are few, although the running titles on pages 197, 199, 201, and 203 are obviously incorrect. The title of Uztáriz's treatise on trade is inaccurately cited in the bibliography; a closer approximation is found in the text (p. 36). Dr. Hussey consistently refers to an able Spanish writer as Antuñez y Acevedo, although he signed himself Antúñez y Acevedo.

ROBERT S. SMITH.

Duke University.

The Origins of Modern Spain. By J. B. TREND. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934. Pp. 220. \$2.50.)

There is a considerable literature of well written and competent books by English journalists, writers, and historians on the subject of Spain and the Spaniards. For the most part these have been produced by British observers striving conscientiously to give a fair and just picture of what they have seen and felt. Despite this effort to be impartial and objective, few have been able to escape entirely the suspicion of a certain prejudice, a certain lack of sympathy for, and understanding of, the more volatile character of the Spanish people and their institutions. Perhaps it will always be impossible for the "man of action", as the distinguished Spanish statesman and scholar, Salvador de Madariaga, in his *Inglesees, Franceses, Españoles: Ensayo de Psicología Colectiva Comparada*, characterizes the Briton whom he knows so well, to comprehend fully the "man of passion" exemplified by the Spaniard. This seeming inability of English observers in general to grasp fully the significance of events and changes in Spain is particularly noticeable in the somewhat accelerated flow of books and articles from the British press since the advent of the second republic in 1931. Too often of late English newspapers have been prone to ridicule or decry the activities and men of the new republic, and in most of the more serious books there is an obvious lack of sympathy with the aims and ideals of the new order. It is most gratifying, therefore, to find a striking exception to the general rule in the work under review written by the Professor of Spanish at the University of Cambridge who, in numerous other books and essays, has displayed a shrewd penetration into the spirit of things Spanish. In the present instance we have an exceedingly interesting book displaying the author's appreciation and understanding of Spain's fundamental problem—education.

Professor Trend sees clearly that the cause and effect of the second republic is the determination on the part of a small group of men to free education in Spain—taking the expression in its broadest sense—from its traditional shackles; he perceives that the leaders of the new order fully realize that the regeneration of Spain can come about only through popular education and by the liberation of the masses from the bondage of superstition, tradition, and obscurantism in which they have lived for centuries. Perhaps Professor Trend is more successful than most of his countrymen in understanding the real signifi-

cance of recent events and in sympathizing with the genuine aspirations of the Spanish race because his avenue of approach has been through the literature, music, and language of the people of whom he speaks. Foreign observers and historians are too frequently prone to form their judgments on their familiarity with the political history of the nation, and in the field of politics and economics Spaniards have been admittedly inept. These same critics, however, have seldom grasped the important fact that the Spanish genius best reveals itself in its literature and art; creative writers and artists voice the soul of Spain far more accurately and honestly than the chicanery of politicians and the moral turpitude of the small ruling class. For a people so notably distinguished for their love of oratory, poetry, art, and music, it should be obvious that a study of these less "practical" activities is imperative for any adequate understanding of national character; yet foreign historians continue interpreting the Spanish record in a one-sided fashion. This tendency of foreigners to judge by their own standards is responsible in no small measure for the current misconceptions of many things Spanish.

The present work is chiefly the study of the beginnings of modern education in Spain, and the inception of a rational system of training which bases itself on investigation and questioning rather than on the blind acceptance and memorizing of ancient and outworn lore; as such Professor Trend's book is largely the account of the life, writings, and influence of a single man who was worth more to Spain than all its generals and politicians in the nineteenth century—and one is tempted to throw in with the latter an overwhelming majority of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the same period. This individual was Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos, an educator who would have been great in any country but who was doubly so in Spain where hostility, chiefly of ecclesiastical origin, to newer and more liberal ideas of education that were spreading everywhere, was most bitter. A disciple of the Spanish philosopher, Don Julián Sanz del Río (1814-1869), who was hated and abused for his importation into Spain of the philosophy of a relatively obscure German thinker, Krause, he founded the *Instituto de Libre Enseñanza* and, by his teaching, was responsible for the renewal of the whole philosophical, moral, and intellectual outlook of Spain. It is the students of Don Francisco who have restored respect abroad for Spanish scholarship, and it is his students who are chiefly responsible for the birth of the second republic and the far-reaching

measures which the new government seeks to put into effect. The results of the labors of this quiet, self-effacing individual, who was constantly fought and opposed by both Church and State, are now plainly evident to one with eyes to see.

It was the fate of Giner de los Ríos to live and work during the restoration period when the repressive control of the conservative elements exceeded by far that which had brought on the abdication and flight of Isabel II. in 1868. After the chaotic period of Amadeo and the first republic the power of the Church especially was greatly strengthened; convents and monasteries sprang up in greater profusion than in the lush days of Phillip II. and his successors. And nowhere was the arresting hand of the Church felt more than in the educational system of the nation; teaching became almost the exclusive privilege of the religious orders. The old triumphed completely over the new with unhappy results in the postponing of the social, political, and spiritual regeneration of modern Spain. Professor Trend writes: (p. 125) "Spanish education as controlled by the religious orders should stand condemned for all time on the results of 1875-1931," a strong statement which, on due reflection, seems wholly justified. The mistakes and blunders of the second republic to date can be attributed in no small measure to the repressive educational system of that period which neither prepared the Spanish people for the emancipation which the republic seeks to bring, or trained a sufficient number of leaders to carry out the great task of national regeneration. The Spanish people may stumble and fall repeatedly as they did under the first republic, but they are stumbling and falling *forward*, it should be noted. When the history of this great struggle toward a new Spain is written, the name of Giner de los Ríos will occupy a prominent place.

It is difficult to quarrel with the author of this most readable book whose style is almost journalistic but always dignified. He has closed his account of Giner de los Ríos with chapters on Salmerón, Costa, Azcárate and Manuel Cossío. These names suggest that the book might better have been entitled "The Generation of '68." This title for the present work or the one given by the author both seem, however, too comprehensive, as they apparently promise more than is actually given. Unquestionably, the new outlook on modern education is an origin of modern Spain. The fact that the bloodless revolution of April, 1931, bringing the second republic into existence,

was chiefly the work of intellectuals cannot be too greatly emphasized. The failure or inability of Alfonso XIII. to perceive this in its earlier stages cost him his throne. However, this does not, perhaps, justify the plural word *origins* in the title, for there were many others not mentioned by the author in his book. If Costa, Azcárate, Cossío merited separate chapters, the names of other members of the "Generation of '68" (less advertised than the "Generation of '98") such as Pi y Margal, Castelar, and even the novelist Pérez Galdós, deserve as much space. This they could have received without increasing the bulk of the book excessively and Professor Trend's work would have fulfilled more completely the promise of its title. These criticisms in no way detract from the readableness and acceptability of this engaging book which should be read by everyone interested in the Spain of today.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of California, Berkeley.

Stories of the Latin American States. By NELLIE VAN DE GRIFT SANCHEZ. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, [1934]. Pp. viii, 391. \$2.50.)

This book sketches the history of the Hispanic American states very briefly for the North American public whose time is limited and who do not have any background for the study of Spanish American History. It will be useful to high school students for reading reference in those few high schools which offer courses in Hispanic American History. College students entering such courses for the first time should find it useful as an outline of study. Interesting and well selected stories relative to the history of the different states are included. The style is good and the interest of the reader is held from the beginning to the end of the account.

The Hispanic American states are treated alphabetically; then they are followed by the British, French, Dutch, and United States possessions in Hispanic America. The history of the last three dependencies is rather brief and should have been expanded more. The discovery, exploration, naming, the natives, settlement, revolutions, heroes, capital, population, climate, education, and recent government of each country are described. There is a map of each state and possession besides the frontispiece which is a map of South America. At the end of each chapter the author includes a brief list of important

dates and a short list of reading references practically all in English. There is no bibliography or index.

Some repetitions are made which could have been omitted; for instance the word buccaneer is defined three times (pp. 148, 203, 341). Balboa is depicted as a great hero, although he was a reckless adventurer of the Pizarro type and something of a scoundrel. The legend of Alvarado's leap, which says that he vaulted across the canal by fixing the point of his lance on the firm ground, has been proved false in the doctoral thesis of Professor Warner, written at the University of California. Alvarado was on horseback and his horse jumped across the canal. In the formation of the Panama Republic the activities of the agents of the French Canal Company have not been mentioned, but only the action of the United States in preventing Colombia from using its troops to put down the rebellion.

The book is interesting and elementary enough, and therefore, should be useful to spread the knowledge of Hispanic America to the general public.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. An Account of the First Expedition of Don Diego de Vargas into New Mexico in 1692. Translated with introduction and notes by IRVING ALBERT LEONARD. (Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1932. Pp. 136. Illustrated.)

This volume, like the others from the pen of Dr. Leonard, appears to be a labor of love, for it deals with a favorite hero whose life and activities were portrayed by the author under the title of *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, A Mexican Savant of The Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley, 1929). In an interesting and well written introductory essay, Dr. Leonard discusses "Forerunners of newspapers in New Spain", sketches the life of Sigüenza y Góngora, describes conditions in New Spain at the time of Vargas's reconquest of New Mexico (1692), and points out the motives for this reconquest.

The *Mercurio Volante* was written by Sigüenza y Góngora about the middle of the summer of 1693. It is a contemporary account of "the first successful penetration of the Spanish into New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680", and it is based upon the reports which Vargas sent to the viceroy in order to spread the news of the recon-

quest. Whether or not the *Mercurio Volante* is entirely accurate and trustworthy, it at least shows, as Dr. Leonard points out, the methods used in making public events of great importance in New Spain in the seventeenth century. In any case, in compiling this report as court historian under the Conde de Galve, Sigüenza y Góngora was acting as an official reporter of the expedition and he cannot be held entirely to blame for what might be termed modifications of facts.

The document, which is given here in facsimile for the first time, was from a copy in the John Carter Brown library. This is preceded by Dr. Leonard's translation which is the second to appear, a previous imperfect one having been made by Benjamin M. Read in his *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Sante Fe, 1912). A helpful index is added and numerous illustrations are scattered throughout the text. The Quivira Society should be congratulated for including this valuable work in its publications.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

Historic Spots in California: The Southern Counties. By HERO EUGENE and ETHEL GRACE RENSCH. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1932. Pp. xxvii, 267. \$2.50.)

Historic Spots in California: Valley and Sierra Counties. By H. E. and E. G. RENSCH and MILDRED BROOKE HOOVER. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press [1933]. Pp. xxvii, 597. \$3.75.)

The practical manner in which a great part of the history of California has been presented in these volumes offers special advantages for student and traveler alike. The story is taken up by counties and includes the Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and early American phases of California's colorful past. To each chapter is added a bibliography of trustworthy sources. The authors have endeavored "to eliminate from the text, as far as possible, old fictions and inaccuracies current in California history". While these volumes will serve to stimulate local pride in historical associations, they will also make the traveler familiar with the historical facts relative to the locality in which he is particularly interested. Rancherías and missions, friars and caballeros, expeditions and battles, in fact, all the ingredients of California's past are brought to the fore. Volume I. necessarily contains more information of the Spanish and Mexican periods because the

southern counties were more extensively influenced by the Hispanic culture.

These volumes have succeeded in avoiding the dryness common to books of facts, but at the same time they have avoided anything that savors of exaggerated color or of the purpose of propaganda. Dignity of presentation, abundance and variety of historical facts, eminent practicality are the books' outstanding characteristics. Both carry an introduction by Professor Robert Glass Cleland, of Occidental College.

MAYNARD GEIGER, O. F. M.

Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Classical scholarship in Spain. By DAVID RUBIO. (Washington, D. C.: [Mimeoform Press], 1934. Pp. [4], 205. Index.)

The author is known to the scholarly world by reason of his published works, *La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la colonización española*, *Hay una filosofía en el Quijote*, and others. From these it is evident that his scholarship is not mere erudition and pedantry, not "harsh and crabbed" but, the contrary, eminently humanistic.

The work under present consideration is, as he defines it, "a tentative essay on classical scholarship in Spain". Without attempting to qualify the adjective "tentative", the reviewer ventures the assertion that this essay is an important contribution to the history of classical literature in Europe on the one hand, and to the history of Spanish culture on the other. In its special field it is the most complete monograph available. In a sense it is a continuation of a work begun by Spain's great humanist, Menéndez y Pelayo, who made such distinguished contributions to the proper understanding of the cultural significance and accomplishments of his country. His *Ciencia española* and *Horacio en España* may well serve as illustrations. It seems that in classical letters as well as in science, Spain's part in the intellectual history of Europe is none too well known. Even Sandy's scholarly monument gives relatively few data regarding the activities of Spanish scholars and *litteratos* in the cultivation and transmission of classical literature.

Dr. Rubio has covered the early period in a luminous essay with the following subdivisions or sections: Latin literature in Spain: Republican epoch or archaic age (250-31 B. C.); Augustan epoch or Golden age (42 B. C.-14 A. D.); Silver age (14-117 A. D.); Period of deca-

dence of Latin literature (II-IV centuries); Hellenism in Spain during ancient times. Middle ages: Visigothic epoch (440-700), Mozarabic epoch (700-1400), Epoch of D. Juan II (1400-1474), Humanists in the Kingdom of Aragon from 1387 to 1474; and Epoch of the Spanish renaissance. Following the introductory essay is a list, arranged by centuries (15th-20th) of Spanish humanists giving a succinct biographical and critical note on the authors, and titles of their works. The appendix gives a list of Catalonian humanists and their works, manuscripts and printed. An index of authors completes the essay.

Dr. Rubio's work is a record of scholarship. It is a material vindication of Spain's position as one of the foremost representatives of the cultivation of classical literature and tradition. No one is ignorant of Spain's significance in the Latin literature of the Silver age. And even in the period from the decadence of Latin literature (II-IV centuries) through the Middle ages that the study of the humanities did not die is attested by many names well worthy of comment. But it is to the renaissance, that remarkable efflorescence of humanistic studies, that we look with greatest interest. To quote Dr. Rubio:

Although the Spanish renaissance came almost a century later than the Italian, whose influence we very willingly admit, nevertheless at the beginning of the 16th century and during all that century, it flourished in such a way that it could be compared, to its advantage, with the renaissance of any other nation.

And in commenting on the influence of printing and the coming to Spain of Italian scholars such as Giraldino and Peter Martyr, our author continues:

But the torchbearers of the renaissance in Spain were not by any means foreigners but true Spanish scholars who never fell into the exaggerations of the Italian humanists. The Spanish humanists followed rather the equanimity and good sense of Erasmus who boasted of having more and better followers in Spain than in any other nation in Europe.

Alonso and Juan de Valdés, Juan Luis Vives, Luis de León, Francisco Sánchez de Brozas, Francisco de Vitoria, Cristóbal de Villalón, Antonio de Nebrija, these names are representative of a large number of workers whose accomplishments may certainly sustain any comparison.

In conclusion, it is the reviewer's opinion that the authors and works cited by the author, not only of the renaissance but of later centuries, amply illustrate the importance of Spain in the development of classical literature. Dr. Rubio's monograph is privately printed by the Mimeoform Press of Washington. Paper and format are good.

Bibliographical details are omitted, consonant with the author's purpose to make his essay a record of scholarly achievement. As such it should be in every library interested in the field.

C. K. JONES.

Washington, D. C.

The Portuguese Pioneers. By EDGAR PRESTAGE. (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1933. Pp. xiv, 352. Index.)

The greater part of this volume concerns the expeditions despatched by Prince Henry the Navigator, and those despatched after his death, along the African coast and eastward. Chapters XI, "Westward exploration", and XIII, "North America, Brazil and the Orient", bear directly on the New World first reported publicly by Columbus. Yet the entire volume is an introduction to the study of America. It was the irony of fate only that deprived the Portuguese—after the Norsemen—of the honor of announcing the discovery of the new lands in the west. As one reads the volume he is impressed anew with the feeling that after all Columbus used the knowledge of other men, better navigators than he, in his opening of a new age. The careful scientific work of Henry the Navigator stands out in clear perspective, as do some of the Portuguese expeditions after Henry's death.

Mr. Prestage has used his materials well, and has, on the whole, drawn correct conclusions. He voices the belief of many scholars that after all Cabral's descent on the Brazilian coast in 1500 was not the result of a storm but was made by design and that the existence of this coast was well known to some Portuguese. He opens up once more active speculation as to whether the Portuguese had brought back actual information regarding this land before the voyage of Columbus. Some interesting cartographical observations appear in the volume. The final chapter "Navigation, Cartography, Ships and Seamen", is an introduction to very interesting topics that merit greater detail. An exhaustive treatise is needed on the ships of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

While written in a half popular vein, the author has touched on many of the factors of the age of discovery ushered in by Portugal and Spain. He correctly extols Magellan as "the greatest of navigators", and calls to mind the fact that although that navigator's great work was accomplished for Spain, he was a Portuguese. The work

of Vasco da Gama and Albuquerque, he rightly evaluates. He discusses the first European discovery of Australia. The few slips noticed in the volume do not change the conclusions of the author. It is evident that he is ignorant of the Richard King map of the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, which may be older than either the Cantino or the Canerio map. Like them, it shows Portuguese influence and it is quite probable that its author was a Portuguese. There is no evidence, either that he has made any use of the Piri-Reis Map lately discovered at Constantinople, which may possibly show some Portuguese influence.

The volume emphasizes the need for more intensive study in the Portuguese archives, both public and private. Many archival discoveries must still await the student in Portugal despite the earthquake of 1755.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

In the 1934 Constitution of Brazil provision is made for the election of a portion of the membership of the Chamber of Deputies by economic interests as indicated in the following quotation:

Art. 23, A Camara dos Deputados compõe-se de representantes do povo, eleitos mediante systema proporcional e suffragio universal, igual e directo, e de representantes eleitos pelas organizações profissionais, na fórma que a lei indicar.

§1—O numero de Deputados será fixado por lei; os do povo, proporcionalmente á população de cada Estado e do Districto Federal, não podendo exceder de um por 150 mil habitantes, até o maximo de vinte, e, deste limite para cima, de um por 250 mil habitantes; os das profissões, em total equivalente a um quinto da representação popular. Os Territorios elegerão dois Deputados.

...

§3—Os Deputados das profissões serão eleitos na fórma da lei ordinaria, por suffragio indirecto das associações profissionais, comprehendidas para esse effeito, com os grupos affins respectivos, nas quatro divisões seguintes: lavoura e pecuaria; industria: commercio e transportes; profissões liberaes e funcionarios publicos.

§4—O total dos Deputados das tres primeiras categorias será, no minimo, de seis setimos da representação profissional, distribuidos igualmente entre ellas, dividindo-se cada uma em circulos correspondentes ao numero de Deputados que lhe caiba, dividido por dois, a fim de garantir a representação igual de empregados e de empregadores. O numero de circulos da quarta categoria corresponderá ao dos seus Deputados.

§5—Exceptuada a quarta categoria, haverá em cada circulo profissional dois grupos eleitoraes distinctos: um, das associações de empregadores, outro, das associações de empregados.

§6—Os grupos serão constituídos de delegados das associações, eleitos mediante suffragio secreto, igual e indirecto, por grãos successivos.

...

§8—Ninguem poderá exercer o direito de voto em mais de uma associação profissional.

§9—Nas eleições realizadas em taes associações, não votarão os estrangeiros.—
JAMES B. CHILDS.

For some months past two French organizations especially interested in Hispanic America, the "Comité France-Amérique" and the "Institut des Études Américaines" have been engaged in the foundation of a "Chaire Gabriel Honotaux" at the University of Paris, in

celebration of the eightieth birthday of the distinguished French historian who is president and one of the founders of the Comité France-Amérique. As part of its campaign the "Institut des Études Américaines" has launched an appeal to all of the republics of the new world for contributions. A sufficient number of the Hispanic American countries have responded to insure the success of the undertaking. The most recent to give its adhesion is Ecuador which on October 15, 1934, pledged itself to an annual contribution of 1200 francs. The first incumbent of the new chair will be M. Paul Rivet, professor of ethnography at the Trocadéro and the author of many studies on early American ethnography and anthropology. During the year 1935 he will give a series of lectures on "Les origines et la civilisation américaine avant Christophe Colomb".—P. A. M.

From time to time the press has carried items relative to the *Musée San Martín* at Boulogne-sur Mer. Until recently it consisted of little more than the house in which San Martín died in 1850 and a few unimportant portraits and pictures of the epoch. With the appointment in the spring of 1934 of the new director, the Argentine antiquarian, Sr. Lascano-Tegui, the museum has undergone a radical transformation. Every effort has been made to reconstruct, room by room, San Martín's house as it was at the time of his death. The large halls are entirely given over to the military achievements of the hero, with an abundance of engravings, paintings, medals, and the like. Four large reliefs, laboriously prepared by Sr. Lascano-Tegui, graphically depict the four greatest achievements of the general: the passage of the Andes, Chacabuco, Maipú, and the combat of San Lorenzo. The director modestly states that he has made only a beginning. His plan, as described in his own words is an ambitious one: "J'ai l'intention notamment, de réaliser au moyen des tableaux et d'autres objets de la porte d'entrée a la chambre mortuaire, une sorte de résumé chronologique de la vie de San Martín." Sr. Lascano's efforts deserve every encouragement.—P. A. M.

The French journalist, Herbert van Leisen, has had the happy idea of investigating the rôle which the Hispanic American countries are playing in the League of Nations. His method is to interview all of the delegates at Geneva from whom he has elicited some very interesting replies, which deal not only with the activities of the League proper but also includes such matters as Hispanic America and the

Hague Court, the Leticia imbroglio, and the Institute of International Coöperation. The results are summed up in his *L'Amérique latine à la Société des Nations* (Genève, Éditions des Archives Internationales, 1934).—P. A. M.

The International Congress of Geography which recently (1934) met at Warsaw approved the motion of the Chilean delegate, Sr. Francisco Madrid that the various European governments be requested to include in their official educational programs courses in Hispanic American History and Geography.—P. A. M.

The recent exchange of official visits by the chief magistrates of Brazil and Argentina and the ratifications of treaties of friendship between these two republics have been followed by the creation of the Instituto de Alta Cultura Argentino-Brasileño. The head of the Brazilian section of the Institute, until his death a few months ago, was the notable jurist, internationalist, and writer, Rodrigo Octavio, and of the Argentine section the well-known publicist and writer, Dr. Rodolfo Rivarola. Among the objects of this new organization are the fostering of the study of history and literature of the two countries and the encouraging of publications in these fields.—P. A. M.

An organization of book-lovers entitled "Sociedad de amigos del Libro Rioplatense" has been launched simultaneously in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. It follows somewhat the same method as the "Literary Guild of America", publishing its own editions of new works by well known authors. The two consultative committees are impressive. The Argentine includes Ricardo Rojas, Arturo Capdevila, Mario Bravo; the Uruguayan, Emilio Frugoni, Emilio Oribe, and Alberto Zum Felde. Thus far (October, 1934) ten books have been issued, a number of them by notables such as the Argentine novelist, Enrique Larreta, and the Uruguayan critic, Alberto Zum Felde. Ambitious plans are being made for the future. Up to the present, the selections have been almost entirely literary but the personnel of the committees would indicate that works on history will eventually be represented. The books are sold at two Argentine pesos or one Uruguayan peso a copy; the Buenos Aires office of the organization is Sarandí, 751, the Montevideo office, Cerrito 440.—P. A. M.

The ancient city of Cuzco, once the capital of the far-flung domains of the Incas, is at length coming into its own. The twenty-

fifth congress of Americanists, which held its conferences at La Plata in 1932, adopted a resolution urging the government of Peru to declare Cuzco "the archaeological capital of America". Naturally the authorities at Lima espoused the idea with enthusiasm. The Peruvian Constituent Assembly passed a law on January 23, 1933, providing that the La Plata resolution should have legal force. Other legislation made appropriate provision for the celebration of the fourth centenary of the founding of the Spanish city of Cuzco, which fell in 1934. Cuzco is to house a national museum of archeology. The University of Cuzco is to be equipped with a faculty of American history and archeology. A school of Peruvian art is to be established. The university, moreover, is to be supplied with the resources necessary to make better known the archeological remains of the region and to establish an office for the convenience of tourists. The law of 1933, furthermore, provided that Peru should urge upon the other states of South America the approval of the La Plata resolution. Not all of the provisions of this law have thus far been carried out by the Peruvian authorities. As is already known, however, the fourth centenary of the founding of the Spanish city of Cuzco was celebrated in 1934 with great *éclat*.—P. A. M.

The Center of Inter-American Studies of The George Washington University has taken steps to interest Washington high school history clubs in the study of Hispanic American affairs. During the fall of 1934, the director of the center met with representatives of the history clubs of several Washington high schools, and a program of action was planned. The center has undertaken to provide speakers or entertainment for two joint meetings each semester, and to furnish each of the clubs with literature dealing with Hispanic America, both in English and in Spanish, and with Hispanic American stamps, pictures, posters, etc. The center began also in the fall of 1934 to arrange special radio broadcasts of interest to the students of Hispanic American affairs. On December 18, a group of George Washington University students presented a sketch of the life of Bolívar in drama form, which they wrote and produced in a thirty-minute broadcast. A course entitled "Contemporary Hispanic American Affairs", under the direction of Professor George Howland Cox, throughout the year has regularly presented lectures given by diplomats from each of the Hispanic American countries. On April 15, in an all-university

convocation, the center arranged for the suitable commemoration of Pan-American Day, the program of which was broadcast over a radio network. During the summer session of 1935, the fourth annual seminar conference on Hispanic American Affairs is to be held from July 1 to August 9. Among the lecturers are James Alexander Robertson; Clarence F. Jones, Clark University; Philip Ainsworth Means, Pomfret, Connecticut; Marie Madden, Fordham University; Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan; Lillian Fisher, Oklahoma College for Women; J. Lloyd Mecham, University of Texas; Irving A. Leonard, University of California at Berkeley; Cecil Knight Jones, The George Washington University; Roland D. Hussey, University of California at Los Angeles; John Tate Lanning, Duke University; Alfred Hasbrouck, Washington, D. C.; and A. Curtis Wilgus, The George Washington University. The subject for the Seminar Conference is "Colonial Hispanic America". These lectures will be printed in one volume by The George Washington University Press. The following volumes of Seminar Conference lectures have already appeared: *Modern Hispanic America*, *The Caribbean Area*, and *The A B C Countries*.—A. C. W.

The twelfth Session of the Institute of World Affairs was held at Riverside, California, December 9 to 14, 1934. Professor H. I. Priestley of the University of California conducted a Round Table on "Outstanding Latin American Problems". With him were associated Professor Howard H. Martin of the University of Washington, Sr. Pascual Ortiz Rubio (Past President of Mexico), Dr. Frederic W. Gantzert of the Santa Barbara State College, and Dr. S. C. Feemster, University of Nevada. At one of the luncheons President Charles K. Edmunds of Pomona College spoke on "Impressions of Pan-America".

The Inter-American Institute of Roerich Museum at 310 Riverside Drive, New York City, has inaugurated a lecture course by Philip Leonard Green on "The Elements of Latin American Civilization". This extended from October 24, 1934, to February 20, 1935, the lectures being given each Wednesday evening. There were seventeen lectures in all, these being entitled: The World looks at Latin America; Mysterious Beginnings of Latin American Civilization; Indian Ingredients in Latin American Civilization; Hispanic Ingredients in Latin American Civilization; Inter-racial Relations in Latin America; Geographic Influences in Latin America; Eco-

conomic Influences in Latin America; Latin American Psychology; Struggle for Independence in Latin America; Effects of Independence in Latin America; Political and Social Problems in Latin America; Youth Movements of Latin America; Intellectual Influences in Latin America; Latin America: United or Divided?; Literary and artistic Contributions of Latin America; Political and social Contributions of Latin America; Latin America looks at the World. The course was terminated by an examination which was compulsory for those seeking credit. The course was open to any person interested in the study of Hispanic America.

Dr. E. G. Swem, Librarian of the College of William and Mary, has completed the first volume of his monumental Virginia Historical Index; and the second and concluding volume is well on its way. The work is an index to eight vital printed sources of Virginia history, totaling in all 120 volumes. The index is admirably arranged, easily used, and above all practicable. Among the captions are some of interest to Hispanic America. The work has largely been a labor of love on the part of Dr. Swem, who has both planned and executed it. The project has been aided in part by a fund subscribed by sixteen members of the Virginia Historical Society, and in part by a grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Foundation. All profits obtained from the sale of the work are to be turned over to the Virginia Historical Society. The publication of such a work is an example that other states should follow, especially those states having Spanish origins.

The projected meeting of the First National Congress which was to have been held in Ecuador in 1934 was postponed until 1935 by resolution of the Municipal Council of the city of Amato.

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman recently broadcasted an interesting talk on "Foreign Entanglements with South America." In this he showed the various improvements that have taken place and are still taking place in the relations between the United States and Hispanic America.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

ROUSSEAU IN SPANISH AMERICA

Although it is generally believed that the works of Rousseau were unknown in Spanish America in the colonial era, owing to their prohibition by the Catholic Church, probably no single writer was better known than the citizen of Geneva. All of his works published before 1764 entered the colonies without restrictions. As early as 1763, a Mexican priest, Coriche, in publishing in Puebla, Mexico, a refutation of what he believed was Rousseau's first *Discours*,¹ reveals that even by that time reviews and extracts in the *Journal de Trévoux*, the *Mercurios*, and the *Discursos Mercuriales*, as well as Feijóo's refutation of the 1750 work,² had made educated men in the colonial world familiar with many of the ideas Rousseau advanced. This is not strange, when it is remembered that his works were not prohibited in Spain until 1764 and in Rome until 1766, and that no new Spanish Index was issued until 1790.

In this interval of a quarter of a century, Rousseau's works were frowned upon generally by the ecclesiastical powers in both Spain and the colonies, but they were welcomed and digested by liberal thinkers. Among the principal disseminators of his ideas in the colonies during this period were Spanish Americans who had come into contact with liberal ideas through travel or study in Europe; foreign travelers or residents in Spanish America; and liberal administrators, such as the viceroys Croix—himself a Frenchman—and Revillagigedo. It was not until revolution was in the air—until the Declaration of Independence by the United States, the discovery of conspiracies in Peru and Chile,³ and the French Revolution stirred conservative Spain—that the name of Rousseau was made to strike terror to the Spanish heart. The news of the Declaration of Rights had hardly reached Mexico before refutations of the *Social Contract*, based on all manner

¹ For details see the writer's "Rousseau's 1750 *Discours* in Spain", in *Hispanic Review*, II. (1934), 334-344.

² B. Feijóo y Montenegro, *Cartas eruditas* (Madrid, 1781), IV. 247-283.

³ M. L. Amunátegui, *Los precursores* (Santiago, 1909), III. 191-255.

of arguments and authorities, began;⁴ and when Spain, after the events of 1793, made more desperate attempts to stamp out liberal thought, the contrabandists did their work, especially in northern South America and in Mexico, where they found a ready market for prohibited books, particularly those of a political nature. Even though many Spanish Americans in the colonial era felt the need of precaution regarding the possession of such books, as did the Caracas physician who kept them hidden in a hollow beam,⁵ others, like Rojas in Chile,⁶ Funes in Córdoba,⁷ Terrazas in La Plata,⁸ Nariño⁹ and Maziell in Santa Fe,¹⁰ and Enderica in Mexico,¹¹ made little effort at concealment. The audacity of Rojas was amazing, for, in the face of all the Spanish prohibitions, he dared to send back to Santiago in 1787 two sets of, to use his own language,

el malísimo y pestífero diccionario enciclopédico, que dicen es peor que un tabardillo; [y] las obras de un viejo que vive en Ginebra, cuya opinión está tan en duda que unos dicen es apóstol y otros anticristo.¹²

Among such people the Spanish periodicals, especially *El Espíritu de los mejores Diarios* (Madrid, 1787-1791), whose reviews and references to Rousseau merit a special article, and *El Correo de los Ciegos*, which in its issue of December 9, 1789, discussed his life and work in a three-thousand word article, aided in the general dissemination.

Of the many Spanish Americans who served to stamp the impress of Rousseau upon the life and thought of their several countries, especial mention must be made of Francisco Miranda, the beacon light of South American independence; of Simón Rodríguez, the educational reformer; and of his model pupil, Simón Bolívar. Miranda bought the works of Rousseau while an officer in the Spanish army in the

⁴ Hernández y Dávalos, *Documentos para la Historia de México* (Mexico, 1877-1882), VI. 873.

⁵ Comte de Segur, *Memoires ou souvenirs et anecdotes* (Paris, 1825), I. 455.

⁶ Enrique García Velloso, *Historia de la Literatura Argentina* (4th edition, Buenos Aires, n.d.), p. 80.

⁷ R. Rojas, *La Literatura Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1924), V. 140-142.

⁸ García Velloso, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁹ Jules Mancini, *Bolívar y la Emancipación de las Colonias Españolas* (Paris, 1914), pp. 80-83.

¹⁰ Rojas, *op. cit.*, II. 556-559; García Velloso, p. 30.

¹¹ *Precursores ideológicos de la Guerra de Independencia, 1789-1794* (Mexico, 1929), XLVII-LV.

¹² Mancini, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

seventies;¹³ two decades later—then a fugitive in London, where he worked for English participation in the independence of South America—he was the inspiration for the first Spanish translation of the *Social Contract*; and in the dissemination of the Genevan's teachings concerning liberty and the sovereignty of the people, he was the most effective of all Spanish Americans.

More direct in result was the work of Simón Rodríguez, who became convinced, after reading *Emile* in Europe, that pedagogy was his vocation. After his return to Caracas about 1790 he set about popularizing the ideas of Rousseau through an educational treatise he presented to the city council with a view to improving the elementary schools. But shortly the ideal opportunity to become indeed a second Rousseau presented itself. He was made the tutor of the incorrigible orphan, Simón Bolívar, in whom he at once saw a possible *Emile*. Here was a boy who was rich, of good family, an orphan, robust and healthy—all that Rousseau could have desired. At once Rodríguez set about the difficult task of teaching the boy nothing. Until he was fourteen Bolívar was given no books; instead, he had the opportunity to ride, to hunt, to swim, to exercise in the open, and to hear Rousseau's ideas expounded. Then the tutor, as the result of preaching Rousseau too openly, was suspected of complicity in some revolutionary plans that came to light, and had to flee; under the borrowed name of the hero of the one book Rousseau recommended—Robinson—he became an exile in Paris. There Bolívar, after being widowed at nineteen, joined him, but not until after he had seriously read all the works of Rousseau, in which he recognized many passages made familiar to him by his former tutor. The tragedy in his own life—the loss of his girl-bride—disposed him to enter into the sentimental introspection of the *Héloïse*; and much of this spirit pervades the letters he wrote to a cousin whom he called by the name of his lost wife. With Rodríguez, Bolívar visited the haunts of Rousseau and retraced the footsteps of the philosopher; then the two went to Rome, where the youth took an oath to free his native land from Spanish rule. The influence of Rousseau shows itself in every phase of his later life. From his *Discourses* came the basis of Bolívar's vocabulary; to such an extent that in reading Bolívar one is led at times to believe he is reading a translation of Rousseau. When his military successes were to be celebrated with *fiestas*, Bolívar turned for advice

¹³ *Archivo del General Miranda* (Caracas, 1929-1933), VII, 146.

upon the subject to the *Letter to d'Alambert*. The *Social Contract* furnished him a political code throughout his career; and the Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar served him for religion. The style and passion of the *Héloïse* are especially marked in his *Delirios*, written after ascending Chimborazo in 1824.¹⁴ Probably his career and accomplishments furnish the best testimonial South America can ever offer to the efficiency of the educational system advocated by Rousseau.

If any one work contributed directly to the accomplishment of Bolívar's life purpose—the independence of Spanish America—it was the *Social Contract*. The Spanish edition published in 1799 penetrated to all sections.¹⁵ In 1803, the Inquisition in Mexico issued a special edict warning of its possible advent and condemning it in the strongest terms;¹⁶ in that same year Bolívar was digesting it preparatory to rejoining his tutor. In 1807, José Rojas was denounced by his own mother in Mexico for having a copy in his possession, and was kept in the dungeons of the Inquisition several years before he escaped to New Orleans.¹⁷ In 1809, José María Vargas made another translation at Caracas,¹⁸ and shortly afterward, Juan Germán Roscío was writing from that city to Andrés Bello, then in London, that it was there that the *Social Contract* "obtuvo la mejor apología".¹⁹ . . . In 1810, Mariano Moreno republished the work at Buenos Aires;²⁰ in the excellent introduction he stated that it was his plan to reprint the political treatises which had come to be regarded as the catechisms of free people, and that among these he gave first place to the *Social Contract*. He prophesied that its author would be immortal—the admiration and wonder of all succeeding ages, for he had been the first to dissipate the clouds with which despotism had enshrouded its usurpations, and to set forth clearly the rights of the people and the obligations of those to whom rule was entrusted. Many of these ideas

¹⁴ Mancini, pp. 115-155.

¹⁵ For bibliographical details concerning the various Spanish translations see the writer's "A Tentative Bibliography of Spanish Translations of the works of J. J. Rousseau" in *Hispanio Review*, II. (1934), 134-152.

¹⁶ *Gaceta de México*, December 16, 1803.

¹⁷ H. G. Ward, *Mexico in 1827* (London, 1828), I. 110; H. M. Brackenridge, *Voyage to South America in 1817-18* (London, 1820), I. 27; L. Alamán, *Historia de México* (Mexico, 1849-1852), I. 121.

¹⁸ *Documentos para la Vida pública del Libertador* (Caracas, 1875), I. 236.

¹⁹ M. L. Amunátegui, *Vida de D. Andrés Bello* (Santiago, 1882), p. 84.

²⁰ Copy in the Bibliothèque Publique at Geneva.

Moreno had absorbed from wide reading in the library of Terrazas at Chiquisaca of both foreign and Spanish writers who, like Jovellanos, knew their Rousseau.²¹ Moreno's edition was still in wide circulation in 1817 when a North American made the following comment:

[It] is well executed, and seems to have been much relished by the middle class of people. But it is difficult to say whether it was not more injurious than beneficial; it was likely to make raw and visionary politicians, whose notions, not having sound political experience for their basis, would be as wild as virtuous.²²

Its influence continued, nevertheless. Morelos incorporated its teachings into his Mexican constitution of 1814;²³ and drafts proposed for that of 1824 even bore the title of *Pacto Federal de Anáhuac*. In vain from Mexico to Chile did church and state thunder against its arguments and anathematize the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Spanish editions were published in both Philadelphia and Charleston for shipment to Spanish America; and in 1822, a liberal Mexican, Francisco Maldonado, issued the work, with the omission of the chapter on religion, in the Mexican capital; but the subject matter was discreetly veiled under the title of *Fanal del Imperio Mexicano*. From 1820 to the present day, Spanish editions of the *Social Contract* have circulated in large numbers in all parts of the Spanish world. Sarmiento says that its ideas, half digested, were a contributing factor in fomenting internal dissensions.

Nor were traces of Rousseau entirely lacking in Spanish American letters. Even in the colonial period, the censor complained that in a drama *Siripo* by Labardén, given in Buenos Aires in 1789, the spirit of Rousseau, especially in the introductory *Loa*, was entirely too evident.²⁴ With the progress of the revolution, his teachings found more frequent expression in fiction and poetry, as well as in philosophical and moral treatises. The first of the novelists was Fernández de Lizardi, a Mexican, who echoes in his *Periquillo* and *Quijotita* many of the Genevan's social and educational views. The Cuban, José María Heredia, gave voice in his poetry to the melancholy and sentimental strains of the *Heloïse*, and his descriptions of nature also suggest Rousseau. His continued admiration for that writer shows itself in an essay in his periodical *Miscelánea* (Mexico, 1830), in which he credits Rousseau with having exercised immense influence,

²¹ Rojas, *op. cit.*, V. 45-47.

²² Brackenridge, II. 133.

²³ Hernández y Dávalos, V. 213-215.

²⁴ García Velloso, p. 73.

with having taught the indifferent to feel, the superficial to think, and the most abject to love and defend liberty, in whose cause Heredia himself became and died an exile.

During the next half century the influence of Rousseau may be traced in a wide variety of works. The visionary sentimentalism had been deeply absorbed by Vidaurre, a Peruvian, who published in 1825 a collection of erotic confessions and plans for social reforms entitled *Cartas Americanas*. In 1828, Varas y de la Barra expounded Rousseau's teachings in Chile in his *Lecciones de Moral*,²⁵ and the first Chilean novel, *La Vida de un Amigo*, by Vial Guzmán, published in 1846, adopts the epistolary form and breathes much of the spirit of the *Heloïse*,²⁶ although the work is crude. In Argentina, Rousseau's teachings were intelligently refuted in 1836 by Gorriti in his *Reflexiones*²⁷ but for years they had been brutally assailed there by Castro Barros, a Catholic priest who pleaded for a new inquisition to extirpate them all. It was the blood and thunder attack of this ecclesiastic that first drew Sarmiento's attention to the French writer. In *Recuerdos de Provincia* are many references to Rousseau's life, works, and influence in South America; and in *Facundo* the disastrous effects of the *Social Contract* on people unprepared to digest it are clearly brought out.²⁸ In the works of Echevarria, a contemporary Argentinian, are also traces of Rousseau; the *Social Contract* reappears in the *Dogma socialista*, a code drawn up for the group that refused to submit to the tyranny of Rosas; in the poem "Avellaneda" are references to Moreno's introduction to the first Argentinian edition;²⁹ and in "La Cautiva", the descriptions of nature and the sentimental strain of the *Heloïse* are linked for the first time with an Argentinian background. In Uruguay, Pérez Gomar, in his *Idea de la Perfección humana* admits Rousseau as the source of many of his ideas;³⁰ and Nin Frías, according to the critic Carlos Roxlo, shares in the feeling for nature so characteristic of both Rousseau and Chateaubriand.³¹

It is because Romanticism lingered in Hispanic lands long after its day had passed in other countries that traces of Rousseau as literary

²⁵ Amunátegui Solar, *Bosquejo de la Literatura Chilena* (Santiago, 1915), p. 37.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 515-516.

²⁷ Rojas, V. 92-93.

²⁸ Buenos Aires, (1896), pp. 104-105.

²⁹ *Obras completas* (Buenos Aires, 1870), I. 302, 434-435.

³⁰ Carlos Roxlo, *Historia de la Literatura Uruguaya*, VI. 218.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

inspiration are to be found much later there than in England or Germany. The peak of the sentimental interest came after 1830; this was true even in Spain where the *Heloïse* went through six editions in 1836 and 1837. South Americans early turned to novel reading, and from the correspondence of Matthew Carey, the Philadelphia publisher, we find that many copies of Rousseau's fictional contribution were sent from Philadelphia to satisfy this demand. The echoes of the *Heloïse* were many, but few were of permanent literary value. Of these the best known is the romantic idyll *Maria* (1867) by a Colombian, Jorge Isaacs—the most widely read work of fiction yet written by a Spanish American. In this, we have the introspection, the lacrymosity, the descriptions of nature, the intensity of passion over trifles, the grimness of fate in Maria's death—all characteristics of that phase of the romantic movement which emanated from Rousseau. In turn this work became a model for later novels of the sentimental type, but, in poetic conception and presentation, all fall far below it. To be convinced that the influence of Rousseau still pervades some contemporary fiction, one need only turn the pages of *Un Perdido* by Eduardo Barrios, a work which strongly suggests the *Confessions*.

The influence of Rousseau on Spanish America, then, was threefold—political, educational, and literary; and these different threads were sometimes strangely and inextricably interwoven. From the first definite trace of his political influence—in the constitution Berney drew up for Chile in 1780—until after the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Social Contract* was the inspiration of most Spanish American leaders. How early the educational influence was felt is not so definite; but in the work of Simón Rodríguez we have a concrete example. Not only radical thinkers preached his educational doctrines; even parish priests were his missionaries; Sarmiento tells us that the doctrines enunciated by the priest in his mother's village suggested that he knew Rousseau as well as the Bible, while the lessons he preached to mothers on rearing their children gave reason to suspect that *Emile* was hidden beneath the clerical robe. The few evidences of his literary influence in the colonial era are scarcely a fair index to the actual assimilation of his thought, for Spanish America was, in the nineteenth century, primarily and persistently romantic. It is probably no exaggeration to say that Rousseau, for a century after his death, wielded more influence in shaping the thought of Spanish America than did any other single writer. The many-

sidedness of his influence is best seen in Bolívar, who was nurtured in the thought of Rousseau, reared according to his precepts, and became a most genuine representative of the romantic school in love, language, and in the quest of liberty; as a result, he achieved the independence of three countries and called forth a new spirit in the Spanish American world.

Nor should it be forgotten that South America can claim some Rousseau items of bibliographical interest. It was the copy of the *Social Contract* which had shared the exile of Napoleon at St. Helena that Bolívar bequeathed, at his death in 1830, to his native city Caracas. There, beside the educational projects of Rodríguez and the journals and papers of Miranda—two Spanish Americans whose vision, guided by that of Rousseau, was far in advance of the day in which they lived—rests this precious volume; and in the National Library at Buenos Aires there is still treasured a copy of the first Argentinian edition (1810) of that same work.

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NOTES ON RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The history of the discovery and conquest of America has naturally always possessed a peculiar fascination for the Genoese, as evidenced by the monumental work on Columbus published by the city fathers a few years ago. This interest shows no signs of abating as appears from the brilliant lectures which Signor Benedetto Giacalone recently gave on the ancient Mexicans in the Instituto Fascista di Cultura of Genoa. These have fortunately been published, under the title of *Gli Aztechi* (Genova, 1934). The book abounds in new points of view regarding the character of Aztec civilization and the vicissitudes of the Spanish conquest.

The Belgian anthropologist, Dr. Georges Rouma, under the joint auspices of the government of Bolivia and the Anthropological Society of Sucre, carried on investigation in Bolivia in 1911. The results, originally published in the *Bulletin* of the Royal Belgian Society of Anthropology, are available in a special volume entitled *Quitichouas et Aymaras. Étude des populations autochtones des Andes boliviennes* (Bruxelles, Imp. Merxplas, 1933).

The French sociologist and psychologist, Jacque de Lauwe, has published a stimulating article in August (1934) number of the *Revue des Sciences Politiques*, entitled "Mentalité Sud-Américaine; Étude de la psychologie collective par les origines et le milieu".

The teaching activity of the eminent historian, Rafael Altamira, is by no means confined to the history of Spain. For many years he has given courses in the history of America and has guided students engaged in research in this field. A very interesting account of this important phase of his work is to be found in his booklet entitled *La Enseñanza de las instituciones de América*, in the *Publicaciones de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Madrid* (1933). On the basis of his lectures on American history, Professor Altamira is preparing a *Historia de las Instituciones políticas y civiles de América*, already announced in his *Obras completas*. Of equal importance is

his *Colección de Textos para el Estudio de la Historia y de las Instituciones de América*. The first three volumes will include the constitutions of the American republics with the relevant statutes on the Philippines and Porto Rico. Volume IV, which is now in press, has as its title *Textos primitivos de Legislación colonial Española*; Volume V, *Primitivas Constituciones Hispanoamericanas*; Volume VI, *Primeros Textos doctrinales de Materia jurídica-colonial* (Las Casas, Victoria, Sepulveda, etc.). It is obvious that, with the publication of this series, students will have in available form some of the most important documentary material in the whole range of Hispanic American history.

Those who like the writer of this note have had occasion to use the National Library at Madrid will welcome the work of Sr. Julián Paz, *Catálogo de manuscritos de América existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1933). There are some thirteen hundred headings which deal for the most part with the eighteenth century. The manuscripts formerly were to be found in the Ministerio de Ultramar, the Palacio Nacional, and a number of private collections.

The late Dr. Jorge Cabral, who for many years occupied one of the chairs of history in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires, delivered in the Institute of Rome shortly before his death six lectures on the activities of the Jesuits in the Platine area. These lectures, each of which is a monograph in itself, have been published under the title *Conferencias sobre las Misiones jesuíticas* (Buenos Aires, 1934). The lectures deal with the organization of the missions under the following headings: "El problema", "El ambiente", "La organización económica", "La organización social", "El ideal artístico y los misioneros de la conquista".

Specialists in Hispanic American history have long been aware that the most important collection of newspapers of South America is to be found in the library of the University of La Plata. The nucleus of the collection consists of 675 periodicals and 153 rare publications acquired many years ago from the historian and antiquarian, Antonio Zinny. At the present time the number has expanded to no less than 2127 periodicals, some of which are exceedingly rare. The earliest item is a volume of the *Mercurio Peruano* dating from 1791. This wealth of periodical material has at length been rendered really available

through the publication of the *Catálogo de periódicos sudamericanos existentes en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de la Plata* (1791-1861) (La Plata, 1934). The catalogue is unusually complete with detailed descriptions of the various periodicals. Though the work has long been under way, it would probably have remained unpublished but for the active interest of the president of the University, Dr. Ricardo Levene. The catalogue has three elaborate indices: the dates of the appearance of the periodicals, the place in which they were published, and finally the names of directors, editors, and important contributors. It is a model work of its kind. There is an excellent introduction by Sr. Alberto Palcos, director of the library.

One of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken in the field of Argentine history has just been launched by the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana of Buenos Aires. It is nothing less than the preparation of a great coöperative *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, somewhat on the order of the well-known *Histoire de France* by Lavissee, in which successive sections are to be written by members of the junta. Details yet remain to be worked out. In order to insure a production genuinely national in scope, the various provincial juntas, founded by and affiliated with the Junta of Buenos Aires, are to assume responsibility for local or provincial history.

Sr. Abel Chaneton, *adscripto honorario* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires, is the author of *Un precursor de Sarmiento y otros ensayos históricos* (Buenos Aires, 1934). The "precursor" turns out to be the Carmelite, Fray José Antonio de San Alberto, Bishop of Córdoba from 1781 to 1785. He was an enthusiast in matters of education and founded in Córdoba a school for girls which still exists. Here the resemblance to Sarmiento ceases. The other essays deal with Rivadavia (whom Sr. Chaneton attacks for his "desertion" of the presidency, thus making possible the advent of Rosas), the famous "Tribunal de Recursos Extraordinarios" of Rosas, and finally an essay on a curious work of an eighteenth century Chilean Jesuit, Manuel de Lacunza.

A popular though very useful work is *La historia de los Presidentes Argentinos* by Ismael Bulich Escobar (Buenos Aires, 1934). Originally issued in 1918, this book has passed through successive editions, of which the last brings the story up to President Justo's intervention in San Juan in June 1934.

The Brazilian jurist and professor, Dr. Alfredo Valladão, has made a valuable contribution to one of the most important epochs of Brazilian history in his new work *Da Acclamação à Maioridade, 1822-1840* (São Paulo, Revista dos Tribunaes, 1934). It is probably the best historical synthesis which we possess of the agitated period which embraces the Reign of Dom Pedro I. and the Regency. This work will later be reviewed in the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

An exceptionally satisfactory survey of contemporary Brazil is offered by the French writer and scholar, Louis Mouralis, *Un séjour aux États-Unis du Brésil* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1934). The chapters on Brazilian character and intellectual life are especially stimulating.

Propaganda in favor of the restoration of the empire, to which reference has already been made in these notes, seems to be gaining ground in Brazil. Sr. Sebastião Pagano, one of the most active monarchists in São Paulo, is the author of *O Novo Imperio do Brasil* (São Paulo, Biblioteca Patrianovista, 1934). Here are set forth at length the principles and program of the monarchists. The work is dedicated to the "Future Emperor of Brazil", Dom Pedro Henriques de Orléans e Bragança. The headquarters of the "Ação imperial patrianovista Brasileira" in southern Brazil are Caixa Postal 3540, São Paulo.

Lusitanian scholars and publicists are showing commendable zeal in supplying the Portuguese-speaking world with comprehensive works of reference of the type long existent in English, French, and German. The latest of these, edited by Sr. Henrique Perdigão, is entitled *Diccionario universal de Literatura* (bio-bibliographico e chronologico) (Portucalense Editora Ltda., 1934). This bulky volume, as the title indicates, is designed to supply biographies of some 2,200 literary figures from "Homer to the present time". Its importance for students of Hispanic American history lies in the fact that no less than 171 Brazilians are included. Sr. Perdigão so carefully organized his work that he has been able to include a number of Brazilians, such as the historian Rocha Pombo and the writer Lucio de Azevedo who died as late as 1933.

Sr. Angyone Costa, professor of archeology of the Historical Museum of Rio de Janeiro, is the author of an important book entitled *Introdução á Archeologia Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1934). The work deals entirely with Brazil prior to the advent of the Europeans.

Under the somewhat misleading title of *Formula de Civilização Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, 1934), Sr. Annibal Falcão has rescued from partial oblivion the figure of his father Annibal de Mesquita Falcão, who in the early days of the republic wrote extensively on political, literary, and sociological topics. The collection of essays and articles of the older Falcão have considerable historical value as they deal with such topics as "colonization" of the interior of Brazil, racial assimilation, and the like.

An important book lying on the borderland between history and geography is that of Jorge Salis Goulart, *A Formação do Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, Edição da livraria do Globo, 1933). A perusal of this excellent work helps one to understand why this southernmost state of Brazil has stood so apart from the remainder of the country in its social and historical evolution. It admirably supplements the well-known work of the Brazilian sociologist, Oliveira Vianna, *Populações Meridionaes do Brasil*, published in 1920.

Aside from its *Revista*, the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro published in 1934 Volume I of the proceedings of the Segundo Congresso de Historia do Brasil, which took place in Rio de Janeiro, April, 1931, and Volume I of the proceedings of the inaugural session of the Instituto Pan-Americano de Geographia e Historia, which was likewise held in Rio de Janeiro, December, 1932. The full list of the papers presented on these occasions will be noted later.

In 1938, the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro will be one hundred years of age. Already preparations are being made for this great event. A translation with critical notes of the classic work of Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, originally published from 1823 to 1831, is being prepared by D. Lucia Furquim Lahmeyer, librarian of the Instituto, under the direct supervision of the Instituto's president, Sr. Ramiz Galvão.

Professor Mario da Veiga Cabral, the well-known Brazilian geographer and educator has just issued the twentieth edition of his *Compendio de Chorographia do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Officina Industrial Graphica, 1933). This stout volume of over 600 pages has been adopted for the courses in geography in most of the secondary and normal schools of Brazil.

One of the best friends the United States has in Brazil is Dr. Afranio Peixoto, a distinguished professor of the University of Rio de Janeiro, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and a writer equally at home in the domains of history or literature. His *Noções de Historia da Literatura Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Alves, 1931) has an exceedingly interesting chapter entitled "Influencia americana" in which he discusses the share that such persons as Franklin, Cooper, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Poe, Longfellow, Edison, Roosevelt, and Branner had in moulding the intellectual life of Brazil. Those who do not read Portuguese will find the substance of this chapter in two articles in *France-Amérique* (November, 1933, and January, 1934) entitled "Le Brésil et les États-Unis".

The year 1934 marked the fourth centenary of the death of the great Jesuit, José de Anchieta. As was fitting, a series of lectures on the "Apostle of Brazil" was delivered under the auspices of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, by such well-known historians and writers as Teodoro Sampaio, Max Fleiuss, Pedro Calmon, Jonathas Serrano, and Augusto de Lima. These lectures will presumably be published either in the *Revista* of the Instituto or in book form. Among the many publications which have already appeared on Anchieta should be mentioned *Anchieta e o Supplicio de Balleur* (Livraria Record, São Paulo, 1934) by Vicente Termudo Lessa. This work deals with some of the most controversial points in the career of Anchieta, namely his relations with certain Protestants who came to Brazil as a result of the ill-starred colonizing schemes of Villegagnon.

With the title of *Imágenes de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1933), Srs. Mariano Picón Salas and Guillermo Feliú Cruz have published interesting excerpts from books of travelers who visited Chile in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The work is of considerable value for the social and cultural life of this portion of South America for the period indicated.

The Colombian jurist, J. M. Yepes, is the author of a detailed study entitled *El Panamericanismo y el Derecho Internacional* (Bogotá, 1934). The book is written *con amore* and deals with a subject in which Sr. Yepes has long been interested. He writes with authority as he represented Colombia at the Second Conference of American jurists on the codification of International Law, and at the Sixth Pan American Conference, and at present is the Colombian delegate to the League of Nations.

The Colombian historian, Sr. G. Porras Troconis, the foremost living authority on the history of Cartagena, has written a delightful and scholarly book which should have been mentioned early in these notes. *Entre Bastiones* (Monografías históricas de Cartagena) (Cartagena, Imprenta Departamental, 1930) is a collection of articles and lectures on the history of his native city. Among the topics discussed are "Las primeras murallas", "Las medallas de Vernon", "Bolívar ante Cartagena", "El comercio colombiano en la época colonial", "Drake". Sr. Porras who is now director of education in the Department of Bolívar and rector of the University of Cartagena has shown indefatigable zeal in promoting the study of the history of Cartagena. He was president and organizer of the Hispanic American Congress of History held in Cartagena in 1933-1934 and is president of the Academia de Historia de Cartagena. He is a frequent contributor to reviews in Spanish America, the United States, and Europe.

Under the general direction of Sr. Daniel Samper Ortega, the erudite director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Colombia is issued bi-monthly the review *Senderos*. As organ of the National Library, the review contains articles and information on almost every phase of Colombian cultural life. The last number, that of August-September, 1934, is devoted in part to the comprehensive plans of the new minister of education, Dr. Luis López de Mesa, one of the foremost intellectuals and educators of Colombia. His appointment presages a quickening of the whole intellectual and educational life of the nation. Sr. Samper Ortega himself supplies an illuminating article entitled "Sobre los propósitos del Ministro de Educación". Among the remaining articles may be mentioned, "Vestigios de la Lengua Chibcha", by Manuel José Forero; "El Cumpleanos de la Ciudad" (a delight-

ful, illustrated article on colonial Bogotá, written on the occasion of the city's 396th birthday); "Sir Edward Vernon y Don Blas de Lezo", by Guillermo Hernández de Alba (a graphic account of Vernon's fruitless attack on Cartagena in 1740); an account of the visit to Bogotá in August, 1934, of Dr. Leo S. Rowe; several important articles dealing with Colombian literature; two sections devoted to book reviews and various other interesting material. This is a magazine that no serious student of the cultural history of Colombia can afford to overlook.

Volume VIII. of the second edition of the well-known *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú* of Manuel de Mendiburú has appeared (Lima, 1934). The volume embraces the biographies from Montoya to Pezuela inclusive.

The year 1934 marks the four hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Spanish city of Cuzco and elaborate ceremonies were held in the ancient Inca capital. On this occasion was published *Cuzco Histórico, Homenaje a la Ciudad de todos los Tiempos en la cuarta Centenia de su Fundación* (Lima, 1934) by Dr. Rafael Largo H. The work contains a number of essays and some five hundred illustrations.

A somewhat lurid but interesting account of the late Leticia imbroglío is given by Sr. Alfonso Mejía Robles, *Los Piratas del Amazonas (Historia del Conflicto colombo-peruano)* (Panamá, La Moderna, 1933).

One of the most important contributions to the thorny problem of Leticia has been made by the Peruvian scholar, Sr. Evaristo San Cristóval, in his work *Páginas internacionales, Antecedents diplomáticos del Tratado Salomón-Lozano. Estudio crítico del Tratado* (Lima, Librería e Imprenta Gil, 2nd ed. 1932). Sr. San Cristóval is chief of the Archivo del Límite of the Lima foreign office and editor of the new edition of the classical biographical dictionary of Mendiburú.

The Peruvian scholar, Sr. Pedro Dávalos y Lissón, whose earlier volumes on the history of his country have been mentioned in this REVIEW, has recently published volume three of his extensive *Historia*

republicana del Perú (Lima, Libería e Imprenta Gil, 1934). The period covered embraces the years 1824 to 1830. The work will be completed in eight volumes. Sr. Dávalos is the author of nearly a score of monographs on Peruvian history and allied topics, in addition to a number of narrative histories, works on sociology, and a half dozen novels.

The life and times of one of the greatest civilian presidents and statesmen of Peru are vividly recalled by Luis Humberto Delgado in his book *La Obra de Francisco García Calderón en el primer Centenario de su Nacimiento* (Lima, 1934).

Señorita Angelica Palma, the talented Peruvian writer, has fittingly celebrated the centenary of the birth of her eminent father by the publication of his biography under the title of *Ricardo Palma 1833-1933* (Lima, Sociedad de Amigos de Palma, 1933). This is more than a mere life of the famous author of *Tradiciones Peruanas*. With great skill and charm the writer has recreated the intellectual and political *ambiente* of Lima from 1833 to 1919, the year of Palma's death. It is one of the most notable biographies recently published in South America.

The Peruvian poet, José Santos Chocano, now residing in Chile, has written the following militant pamphlet: *El Escándalo de Leticia ante las Conferencias de Río de Janeiro* with the subheading: *Los Daños hechos al Pueblo Peruano por los Explotadores de su Patriotismo* (Santiago de Chile, 1933). The address of Sr. Santos Chocano is Llanos 24, Santiago.

The excellent review, *Universidad de la Habana*, to which reference has already been made in these notes, continues to maintain the high level set by the opening numbers. That of September-October of 1934 (no. 5) has a number of notable articles written by Cuban and foreign scholars. Among the contributions of the former are "Crítico y Colonización", by the noted historian and critic, Dr. María Chacón y Calvo; "Una Interpretación de Norteamérica", by the well-known dramatist, Sr. José Antonio Ramos; "Los grandes geógrafos franceses contemporáneos", by the geographer, Professor Salvador Massip; "Un notable Hebraizante", (the Spanish scholar, Father Pedro

Gómez), by the eminent philologist Dr. Miguel Dihigo. Foreign contributions include "Prólogo de un libro sobre Benjamin Constant", by the Spanish physician, writer, and statesman, Gregorio Marañón, and a number of timely articles by English and American writers. It will be recalled that the director of the review is the rector of the University, Dr. José A. Presno Bastiony. The review welcomes contributions from foreign scholars. The November-December issue was entirely given over to articles on Mexico on the occasion of the 124th anniversary of Mexican independence. Detailed reference to these contributions, some of great historical value, will be given in a later number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Dr. Roberto Agramonte, professor of psychology and sociology in the University of Havana, is about to publish a *Biografía del Dictador García Moreno*. This famous Ecuadorean president and arch-clerical has long awaited an adequate biography.

The 1933 issue of the *Boletín del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas de Guayaquil* (Tomo III, No. 3) is largely devoted to the celebration of the fourth centenary of the death of the Inca Atahualpa, who it will be recalled, was a native of Quito. A number of speeches extol the life and achievements of the murdered Inca. There are also articles by Dr. José María Navarro Jijón, "Apuntes para la historia de la Diócesis de Guayaquil", and by Sr. Gustavo Monroy Garaicoa, (Secretary of the "Centro" and editor in chief of the *Boletín*), "Guayaquileños notables del colonaje, estudio genealógico de la familia Robles".

The Guatemalan writer, Máximo Soto Hall, now residing in Buenos Aires, has just published a thoroughly documented history of one of the most tragic figures of the era of independence; *Monteagudo y el Ideal panamericano* (Buenos Aires, Tor, 1933).

Those interested in the educational and cultural development of Mexico during the past decade should on no account fail to acquaint themselves with the activities of the "Misiones culturales", which have done so much to bring the elements of civilized life to the more remote or benighted districts of the republic. The history of these missions, of which there are now thirteen, is given with a vast array

of interesting details in two handsome volumes issued by the Secretaría de Educación Pública: *Las Misiones culturales en 1827. Las Escuelas normales rurales* (1928) and *Las Misiones culturales 1932-1933* (1933).

Under the auspices of the Secretariat of Public Instruction, Professor Pablo Martínez del Río, a member of the faculty of the National University of Mexico and director of its summer school has written *Las Pinturas rupestres del Cerro Blanco de Cavadonga, con algunas Notas sobre la Comarca circunvicina* (Mexico, Publicaciones del Museo Nacional, 1934). This monograph is a valuable contribution to the ethnology and archeology of Northern Mexico.

The Mexican engineer and writer, Vito Alessio Robles, has added to his long series of publications dealing with Northern Mexico *Saltillo en la historia y la Leyenda* (Mexico, A. del Bosque, 1934). He has in preparation *Coahuila y Texas en la Época colonial*.

In 1933, was published in Mexico (Sociedad de Ediciones y Librería Franco-Americana, S. A.) a new edition of the well-known work of the Mexican historian, Alfonso Toro, under the title of *Historia de México. La Dominación Española*. Segunda edición corregida y aumentada con mapas e ilustraciones documentarias. It is hoped that a new and revised edition of the remaining two volumes of Toro's work will also soon be issued.

One of the best school histories of Mexico is that of Sr. Luis Chávez Orozco, *Historia de México. Época pre-cortesiana* (Mexico, Editorial Patria, 1934). Not the least merit of this text is the fact that it has been written in accordance with the recommendation of the Colegio de Profesores de Historia de México and was approved by the First Mexican Congress of History which met in the fall of 1933 at Oaxaca.

Those interested in the educational problems in Mexico will find much food for thought in a pamphlet issued in September, 1934, by Sr. Manuel Gómez-Morín entitled *La Universidad de México, su Función social y la Razón de ser de su Autonomía*. As director of this venerable institution, Sr. Gómez-Morín has sponsored the autonomy

of the university, and in this pamphlet gives an interesting account of the first year of his stewardship. Copies of this brochure may be secured directly from the university.

For some time, the erudite Mexican ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Sr. Alfonso Reyes, has issued privately a literary and historical review called *Monterrey*. A typical number is that of September, 1934 (No. 11). A long article under the caption of "Investigaciones" discusses with rare competency the "tablas" of one González dealing with the Conquest of Mexico. These illustrations, which date from the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century are of very considerable artistic and historic value. The publication of one series of these "tablas" by Sr. Genaro Estrada, the Mexican ambassador at Madrid, has been reviewed by the author of this note in *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (Vol. XIV, no. 2). There follows a long article on *La Vida es Sueño* of Calderón, a number of minor notices, and a very extensive bibliography of the works presented to Sr. Reyes by his many friends and correspondents since the appearance of the last number of *Monterrey*. The list is a formidable and very useful one. The vast majority of the titles deal with works on history. Sr. Reyes is returning to Mexico shortly and the next number of his review will appear in that country. His address is 5a calle del Ciprés 150, México, D.F.

The eminent Mexican diplomat and writer, Sr. Federico Gamboa, has issued another instalment of his biography under the title of *Mi Diario—Mucho de mi Vida y algo de la de los otros*. Segunda serie. I. (Mexico, Eusebio Gómez de la Puente, 1934). Sr. Gamboa, who was born in 1864, is slowly publishing what is virtually an anecdotal and personal history of his life and times. The present volume covers the years 1905-1908.

Those who are interested in the past century of Mexican history as interpreted by an able Catholic polemical writer will find food for thought in the work of Alfonso Junco, *Un Siglo de Mexico (de Hidalgo a Carranza)* (Mexico, Ediciones Botas, 1934).

Students of Mexican history should on no account fail to secure the *Anuario Bibliográfico Mexicano de 1933* (México, Imprenta de la

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1934). The scope of this manual is evidenced by the number and completeness of the entries. Of the works printed in Mexico in 1933 there are 717. Of the additions to those noted in the *Anuario* of 1932 there are 72. Sixty-four pages are devoted to books on Mexico printed abroad in 1933, the number of which is 55. Many of these works, both Mexican and foreign, are analyzed in detail.

The historical background of the Chaco question is ably presented from the Paraguayan side by Professor Efraím Cardozo of Asunción in his latest work, *El Chaco y los Virreyes* (Asunción, 1934). Sr. Cardozo is one of the foremost publicists of Paraguay. He was secretary of the Paraguayan committee of the League of Nations. He has to his credit the following works: *El Chaco en el Régimen de las Intendencias*, prólogo del Presidente Dr. Eusebio Ayala (1930), *La Política del Aislamiento durante la Dictadura del Dr. Francia* (1931), and *Nuevos Aspectos del Chaco* (1932). He has in preparation a *Historia del Paraguay* as one of the set of twenty-four volumes to be issued by the Spanish publishing house of Salvat under the general direction of Professor Antonio Ballesteros of Madrid.

The epilogue of a tragic chapter in recent Central American history has just been written by Sr. Salvador Calderón Ramírez, Nicaraguan minister to Mexico, *Últimos Días de Sandino* (México, Ediciones Botas, 1934).

Sr. Andrés Largaespada Montenegro, one of the most prominent members of the liberal party of Nicaragua, is preparing a work entitled *Historia de la Intervención americana en Nicaragua*.

One of the most lucid accounts of the recent political changes which have taken place in Uruguay is that given by Sr. Carlos Charrier in *France Amerique* (July, 1934) in an article entitled "Lettre de l'Uruguay". This gives an excellent summary of the new constitution of 1934.

A work indispensable to the student of the international relations of Venezuela has recently been written by the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Pedro Itriago Chacín, with the modest title of

Algunos Apuntes sobre los Tratados (Caracas, 1934). The book is the outgrowth of the lectures which the author gave several years ago while professor of international law in the Escuela de Ciencias Políticas.

The Venezuelan physician and writer, Dr. P. D. Rodríguez Rivero, continues to explore a field of colonial Spanish American history hitherto largely neglected. The *Archivos de Historia Médica de Venezuela*, of which Dr. Rodríguez is director, has in its October, 1934, number two interesting articles by Dr. Rodríguez himself: "El Doctor Carlos Arvelo: un interesante estudio suyo sobre Las Fiebres de Aragua, en 1808", and "El ganado vacuno y su papel sanitario. La leche de vaca, panacea". The latter article deals with the relations of cattle to the epidemics which swept over Venezuela in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Dr. Jacobo Varela, the scholarly minister of Uruguay at Washington, has just published a number of his more notable speeches under the title of *Acción parlamentaria y diplomática* (Montevideo, Claudio García, 1934). This volume will be of great value for the recent history of Uruguay.

The recent revolution in Uruguay, resulting in the abandonment of the collegiate executive, is made more intelligible by the work of Sr. Horacio Abadie Santos, *De la Jornada anticollegista* (Montevideo, Imprenta Moderna, 1933).

Much of the source material for the constitutional history of Uruguay has been made accessible through the publication in fifty-eight volumes of a comprehensive series known as *Compilación de leyes y decretos de la República Oriental del Uruguay* (Montevideo, Impresora Uruguaya). All of the legislation of Uruguay from 1825 to 1930, including laws, treaties, and decrees are to be found in this set. An elaborate triple index—alphabetical, chronological, topical—facilitates the use of this material.

The rôle of the Jesuits in the Platine regions is admirably set forth by Guillermo Furlong, S. J. in *Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense* (Montevideo, 1933).

Under the title of *Contribución al Estudio de la Guerra federal en Venezuela* (2 vols., Caracas, Editorial Elite, 1933), Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez, president of the Academia Nacional de la Historia, has written an authoritative and detailed account of the troublous period from 1846 to 1863. It is based in considerable part on the valuable manuscript collection of his grandfather, Lic. José Santiago Rodríguez.

Dr. P. D. Rodríguez-Rivero, director of the *Archivos de Historia Médica* de Venezuela, has written in the August (1924) number of this magazine two articles which shed curious sidelights on the practice of medicine and surgery in Venezuela at the end of the colonial period. Their titles are: "Datos sobre el estado de nuestra cirugía en el Siglo XVIII", and "Una epidemia de fiebre en Maracay en 1808".

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

That tireless worker, Dr. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, has recently added to his long list of writings a study entitled *Gobernantes del Nuevo Reino de Granada durante el Siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 124), this being No. LXV of the Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Following a brief historical note, the author discusses Gil de Cabrera y Dávalos, Diego de Córdoba Lasso de la Vega, Francisco de Meneses Bravo de Saravia, Antonio de la Pedrosa y Guerrero, Jorge Villalonga, Antonio Manso Maldonado, Rafael Eslava, Los Hermanos Manrique, Sebastian Eslava, Juan Francisco Guemez de Horcasitas, José Alfonso Pizarro, José de Solís, Pedro Messia de la Zerda, Manuel de Guirior, Manuel Antonio Florez Maldonada Martinez y Bodequín, Juan de Torrezar Diaz y Pimenta, Antonio Caballero y Góngora, Francisco Gil y Lemus, José de Ezpeleta, and Pedro Mendinueta y Mezquiz.

Miss Madeline W. Nichols, whose bibliographical list, compiled in conjunction with Mrs. Lucia Burk Kinnaird, of materials from *Nosotros*, appeared in the August (1934) issue of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, has an article in *The Moraga Quarterly of St. Mary's College* (California), IV. No. 4, on "Sarmiento on our Sixties". This gives with a considerable part in the talented Argentinian's own words, his reaction to the United States during his second period of residence here.

Miss Grace Gardner Griffin, in her *Writings on American History, 1930* (Washington, 1933), which was published as Vol. II. of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1930, lists many titles pertaining to Hispanic America. Pp. 287-307 treat of Hispanic America, the titles being classified into the following subdivisions: General; Discovery and Conquest (1492-1550), Colonial Period (1550-1810); Revolutionary Period (1810-1830); National Period (1830-1930); Mexico; Central America; Nicaragua; West Indies—British West Indies, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Dutch West Indies, French West Indies, Haiti, and Porto Rico; South America—

General, Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dutch Guiana, Ecuador, French Guiana, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. The titles on Florida, Louisiana, and New Mexico also contain Hispanic American material. This annual bibliography is indispensable to the student of Hispanic America. The present contribution reaches its usual high excellence. The index is complete and valuable.

R. H. K. Marett, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has published a handy little volume entitled *Archaeological Tours from Mexico City* (London, Simkin Marshall, Ltd.; Mexico, American Book Store, S. A., 1934, pp. xv, 117, \$1.00, paper, \$1.50, cloth). This is enhanced with a foreword by T. A. Joyce, O.B.E., Deputy-Keeper of Department of Ceramics and Ethnography, British Museum. This "Guide to the principal Archaeological sites of the pre-Spanish Civilizations of Mexico that can conveniently be visited from the capital", is divided into three main sections: 1. "The archaic culture", in three chapters—Copilco, Cuicuilco, and Deductions about the archaic culture. 2. "The Toltec Culture", in three chapters—Teotihuacan, Xochicalco, and Deductions about the Toltec culture. 3. "The Aztec culture" in seven chapters—The civilization of the Aztec, Tenayuca, Texcoco, Tlahuica Sites, Cholula, Tizatlan, and Calixtlahuaca. In his introduction, Dr. Joyce says: "Mr. Marett has gathered from many sources (no light work) a conspectus of the most authoritative opinions, and purging them of their technical details, has given a straightforward account, in conservative terms, which provides a commentary invaluable to the traveller". He adds that Mr. Marett "puts forward no wild theories". The small volume contains a sketch map of the valley of Mexico and environs, showing archaeological sites, and a number of interesting illustrations. An index of the sites, with appropriate information, precedes the table of contents. In his preface, the author points out that he is describing only the sites that can be conveniently reached from Mexico City. He has consequently omitted out-of-the-way sites such as Mitla and Chichen Itza "which require a journey of several days from the capital to reach them". The sites described are all located either in the valley of Mexico, or in the states of Morelos, Puebla, Tlaxcala, and Mexico. Although Mr. Marett apologizes for it, the reader will be glad that "a certain amount of history and general archaeological information had to be included". The fact that this interesting book can be carried in the pocket adds to its value.

Dr. Ross Calvin, in his *Sky Determines* (New York, Macmillan, 1934, pp. xiii, 354, \$2.50) has written one of the most interesting books on New Mexico that has come from the press, certainly in recent years. In his twelve chapters he shows how the sky has determined the various features of topography, products, and general life from the earliest dawn to the present day. His thesis is well stated and he is consistent in his treatment. It is evident that he loves his New Mexico, but he has not allowed himself to be led astray through his emotions. Throughout he dwells on the need of New Mexico for rain and the disastrous effects when the life-giving showers have been withheld. He has written with power, so that his New Mexico stands out startlingly clear. His chapters on "Forgotten Peoples", the "Conquistadores", the "Puebloños", the "Mexicanos", and the "Apaches", have considerable of interest to students of Hispanic America. A fair bibliographical list is included.

The Junior Literary Guild has chosen as one of its books, Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*. This has been issued (1934) with illustrations by Keith Henderson and an introduction by Carl van Doren. The latter states that the first part of Prescott's work dealing with Aztec civilization, and the last part, treating of the subsequent career of Cortes after the conquest, have been omitted—the first part because later researchers have added immensely to Prescott's knowledge of Aztec civilization, and the other part because it has nothing to do with the conquest. The part dealing with the conquest has been retained exactly as Prescott wrote it. This, with the index, makes a volume of 594 pages. Keith Henderson's illustrations are the result of his studies in the British Museum and are excellently done. From his intensive study of the old codices, he has been able to produce work that is not only artistic but which reflects the events of the conquest with singular faithfulness. He has apparently accepted as true the story of Alvarado's leap, to judge from the illustration of the "Noche triste" on pp. 396-397. Many of the pictures are faithful copies from the old manuscripts. In all there are 148 illustrations. Through the generosity of Henry Holt and Co., who brought out a complete illustrated edition of Prescott and of Mr. Henderson's pictures, it was possible to obtain those for this publication that belong to the period proper of the conquest. They add much to the story which is intended

to be read especially by boys and girls. The volume is printed in pleasing types and its format is excellent. The inside front and back covers carry a map of Mexico to which the reader will wish to refer. This is an excellent work and should go far toward interesting the class for whom it was especially made.

The Forest Ship: A Book of the Amazon (New York, The Viking Press, 1931, pp. 284, \$2.50) was translated from the German of Arnold Höllriegel by Ethel Colburn Wayne. The translation is excellent. The volume—a fanciful narrative—is divided into two parts: I. The Forest Ship: and II. Orellana. A short prologue relates to the mythical Indian forest spirit known as Curupira. The first part is the fantastic story of an elderly German of idealistic and impractical tendencies who had long had a repressed desire to look upon the Amazon and who at last was able to realize this ambition. The second part is a fanciful story of Orellana and his marvelous voyage as told by one of the passengers on the ship on which the German had taken passage. Near the end of the story, some passages of the relation by Fray Gaspar de Carvajal are reproduced. The setting is faithfully reproduced and the book is not without interest to the historian in aiding him to reconstruct the early voyages along the river.